

Diocesan
Histories

York



Library of the Theological Seminary,

PRINCETON, N. J.

BX 5107 .Y6 O7
Ornsby, George, 1809-1886.
York

Shelf.....

h. sa at
—
.02

Y O R K.

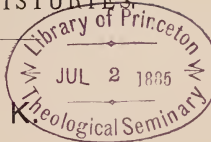
Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

<https://archive.org/details/york00orns>



DIOCESAN HISTORIES.

YORK.



BY

✓
GEORGE ORNSBY, M.A., F.S.A.

CANON OF YORK AND VICAR OF FISHLAKE.

WITH MAP.

—
PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.
—

LONDON:
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, CHARING CROSS, W.C. ;
43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C. ; 48, PICCADILLY, W. ;
AND 135, NORTH STREET, BRIGHTON.

NEW YORK : E. & J. B. YOUNG & CO.

WYMAN AND SONS, PRINTERS,
GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS,
LONDON, W.C.



YORK.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

No diocese in England possesses so many august traditions as the diocese of York. The great Mother Church of the Northern Province rises in its stateliness and beauty from the midst of a city which was great and flourishing, whilst London was comparatively insignificant and Canterbury as yet unknown. Eboracum was the metropolis of *Maxima Cæsariensis*, the central stronghold of the military power of Rome and the focus of Roman civilization in Britain. When the Roman legions were at last withdrawn, and the Angles had vanquished the Britons and driven them into the fastnesses of Wales and the mountains of Caledonia, York was still a place of primary importance and the capital of a Saxon kingdom. "Our first glimpse of the city on the Ouse, after it had changed from Roman Eboracum into English Eoforwic, shows it to us as a city not only royal, but more than royal, as the seat of a supremacy acknowledged by all the Teutonic kingdoms of the island, save Kent alone."¹ As regards

¹ "Points in Early Northumbrian History," by E. A. Freeman. ("Macmillan's Magazine" for Sept., 1876.)

the rise and progress of Christianity throughout the land, Professor Bright¹ has well observed that "the history of the Church in Northumbria during the larger part of the seventh century is conspicuously the backbone of the history of the Church in England." And as regards learning, York had a reputation more than insular, when Archbishop Egbert was founding schools and collecting a library, and when Alcuin was *magister scholarum* within its walls, at a period when Oxford, as a seat of education, had achieved no distinction and given no presage of her future fame.

The object of the following pages is to trace, in as definite and precise a manner as the limits assigned to the volume will admit of, the history of the great diocese which for more than a thousand years has been the seat of the Northern Primate of England. The aim of the book is strictly of a diocesan character. It is not intended to combine, in however brief a form, any history of the country at large, important as has often been the part which Yorkshire has played. However tempting the theme, it must be left on one side, further than as the actions of a sovereign or the deliberations of a Parliament have intertwined themselves with the fortunes of the Church.

We propose to commence our sketch — for it claims no higher appellation — of the diocese of York, by an account of the mission-work of Paulinus, whose name is usually placed at the head of the long roll of those who have occupied its archiepiscopal throne. Before proceeding with this, a short account

¹ "Early English Church History," p. 154.

may, however, be not unfitly given of the tract of country over which the rule of the Archbishops extended, its earliest inhabitants, its domination by the Romans, and its subsequent occupation by the Angles.

The great shire of York, the largest of English counties, was conspicuously the main territorial feature of the Northern Archbishopric, though the original limits of the latter were commensurate with the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, and embraced at one time not only the county of Nottingham, but extended northward as far as the Firth of Forth. The area of the county contains about 5,961 square miles. Its surface is varied. Speaking generally, it slopes upwards from the sea, until it gains its highest elevation on the upland range which forms a natural division between it and the western side of the island. That upland range, containing Ingleborough, Penignt, and other hills and groups of lesser elevation, is the great water-shed of Yorkshire. Almost all the rivers which flow through the great central vale of York have their sources amongst the deep valleys which lie between the ranges of these western hills. The rivers of that rich and fertile vale receive tributary streams also from the elevated land on the Eastern side of the county. All, with few and insignificant exceptions, combine to swell the great volume of water which the estuary of the Humber pours forth into the ocean.

The vale of York extends from south to north through the whole county for 120 miles or more. It was said by Baron Bunsen to be "the most

beautiful and romantic vale in the world, the vale of Normandy excepted." And full three centuries ago Cuthbert Tunstall, the learned Bishop of Durham, with a Yorkshireman's pride, directed the attention of Henry VIII. to this portion of his dominions as being "one of the greatest and richest valleys that ever he found in all his travels through Europe, and moved the king to look about him and behold the great mountains and great hills on the east side of the said valley, being called York wolds and Blackamore; and upon the west hand the high fells of Craven; and all within the county of York."¹ On the north-eastern side of the vale rise the Hambleton hills, near Thirsk, with the Cleveland hills beyond, the peak of Roseberry Topping rising conspicuously amongst them. To the south-east lie the Yorkshire wolds, an undulating range of lower elevation, stretching along the coast line, looking down upon the flats of Holderness, and gradually rising as they approach the north-eastern angle of the county.

The appearance which the country presented in pre-Roman times, and the manner in which its population was distributed, is, to a great extent, matter of conjecture. But there can be little doubt that what was afterwards the Roman Eboracum was then the chief city of the Brigantes, known, in all probability, by the name of Ebrauc. Its site possessed many advantages, marking it out as suitable for the chief settlement of a people whose territory extended widely on all sides. It possessed a navig-

¹ "Observations by Vavasour of Hazelwood." Hearne's Edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, vi. p. 302.

able river, and it was at the head of a valley along the line of which there must at all times have been a more or less beaten track communicating with the north. The country on either side of this road, if it could be dignified by that name, was unquestionably one wide, almost unbroken, forest, full of wild animals of all kinds, the hunting-ground of the Brigantian tribes. The dwelling-places of these early inhabitants of the country appear to have been fixed for the most part in what is now known as the wold country, and the Cleveland hills, where hundreds of circular pits, earth-works, and tumuli occur. Many excavations of these have been made, notably in the course of the last twenty years by the energy of Mr. Greenwell, the results of which he has lately published. Space forbids more than a mere mention of what would be a most fascinating subject. Some were obviously villages, or clusters of huts. Others were thrown up as lines of defence, whilst the mounds or tumuli were usually sepulchral. Circles and groups of stone are not uncommon, more especially on the north-eastern hills. The greater proportion of the tumuli which have been opened are British interments. No Roman tumulus has been discovered. Anglo-Saxon remains are not uncommon.

The wold country would afford pasturage for flocks and herds, and the vast forests which, varied probably with occasional open glades, clothed the declivities of the hills and the wide and far-stretching vale which occupied the central part of this great county, would afford ample scope for hunting the deer, the wild boar, and perhaps the bison.

The ancient inhabitants have left, as in many other districts in the island, one mark of their occupation which, after the lapse of so many centuries, is not yet obliterated. Names which the Britons gave to the river and the stream still survive. The Aire, the Calder, the Don, the Derwent, and the Wisk, the Ure, the Wharfe, and the Went, may be mentioned as instances where the accents of the ancient British tongue are still on the lips of the inhabitants.

The tract of country occupied by the Brigantes was commensurate with Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire. Some smaller tribes inhabited certain districts within the area. The conquests of Agricola brought this part of Britain under Roman rule about A.D. 70 or 80, and the military division of the island known as *Maxima Cesariensis* included the wide tract which was formerly in the possession of the Brigantes. Of this province Eboracum was the capital. It had heretofore been unquestionably the chief city of the Brigantes, and as Canon Raine says, "the Romans knew well how wise it was, in a strange and savage country, to take possession of a place of antiquity and note, where probably there was the only market in the district, and towards which all the forest paths converged." Strategically also it was singularly fitted to be a great military centre and dépôt. Few vestiges remain of Roman dwellings, though it cannot be doubted that the foundations of very many lie buried below the streets and houses of the existing city. The population must have been very large. There is proof of this in the crowded cemeteries which have

been explored, more especially within the last few years. Stone coffins with Latin inscriptions, the bones of the dead, and hundreds of objects which had been interred with them were discovered in extraordinary abundance during the excavations which took place in preparing the sites of the original railway station and of the magnificent new one which has been recently erected. Probably not one half the burial-grounds of the Roman inhabitants of the city has been explored, and vast quantities of inscribed stones, objects of art, coins, pottery-ware, and other things of singular interest, remain yet undiscovered under the surface of the ground which lies outside the ancient fortifications of the city.

Amongst the sepulchral inscriptions or other sculptures which have hitherto come to light, scarcely a trace is to be found of the existence of Christianity in this part of Britain. "The sacred symbol occurs once at York, and twice on objects found on the line of the Roman wall, and this is all."¹ That there may have been individual converts to the faith of Christ amongst the Roman legionaries and settlers is quite possible, and the same may be said concerning the British inhabitants. Christianity, no doubt, had spread extensively in other parts of the island, but there is little historical proof of its having taken root in the north of England during this period.

Another indication of the high rank which Eboracum occupied amongst the cities of Roman Britain is manifested by the fact of an imperial palace existing

¹ "The Historians of the Church of York," &c. Preface, * p. xx., edited by Canon Raine (Master of the Rolls Series).

within its walls, for the accommodation of the emperors when they came to Britain. "Eboracum holds a place which is unique in the history of Britain, which is shared by one other city only in the lands north of the Alps. York, and York alone among the cities of Britain, has been the dwelling place of the Cæsars of Rome. London was even then the great seat of commerce, but York was the seat of empire. York saw the last days of Severus in one age, and of Constantius in another ; and from York Constantine went forth to change the face of the European world for all time."¹

The end of the fourth century witnessed the decline of the Roman power in Britain, and at the beginning of the sixth her legions were finally withdrawn. History is silent as to the precise time when the Angles made their first descent upon the shores of Northumbria, or when they became masters of Eboracum. "We might freely give up much about other places," as Mr. Freeman justly observes, "to get in exchange a single ray of light to throw on the struggle which made Eboracum English." It is supposed by Mr. Skene that as early as A.D. 374 the Saxons had gained a settlement on the eastern coast of Scotland.

When the Romans retired, other incursions would unquestionably soon follow. Their entrance into the Humber would probably be undisputed. Horde after horde would arrive. The tidal waters of the Ouse would bear their small craft up to the very walls

¹ "Points in Early Northumbrian History." ("Macmillan's Magazine," Sept. 1876.)

of the great capital of the northern province, and, however stubborn the resistance of the Britons, they were finally obliged to yield, overpowered by numbers and by the tenacity with which the invaders would hold every post which they had once captured. The progress of the conquerors was, no doubt, slow, but they were continually reinforced, and the Britons sullenly withdrew before them into the shelter of the deep forests and the fastnesses of the far off hills. The stubbornness with which they stood out against the invaders may be measured to some extent by the fact that as late as the seventh century an independent British kingdom named Elmete existed not many miles west of the city of York.

The district between the Humber and the Firth of Forth comprised two distinct kingdoms, Deira and Bernicia; the former embracing the large tract of country between the first-mentioned river and the Tees, the latter that which lay between the Tees and the Forth. Ida, the Flame-bearer, whose stronghold was planted on the basaltic rock of Bebbanburg, or Bamburgh, may be regarded as the first sovereign of Bernicia. Ida died in 559. Deira still had a ruler of its own, but the two kingdoms were soon to be brought under one rule. The Bernicians pressed forward to achieve the conquest of Deira. Ella, its king, was old, and offered but a feeble resistance, and when he died in 589, Ethelric became master of Northumbria. His son Ethelfrith completed the work his father had begun, and his victory at Chester finally broke the power of the Britons, who on the western side of the island had long offered a stubborn

resistance to the arms of the Angles, and left him free to establish a paramount sovereignty over the lesser states of his own countrymen.

After Ella's death Redwald, the king of East Anglia, gave shelter and protection to Edwin, the son of the sovereign of Deira. This act gave great umbrage to Ethelfrith, and he sent messengers time after time to Redwald, demanding the slaughter of Edwin, tempting his cupidity by the offer of a heavy bribe as the price of his betrayal of the trust he had voluntarily undertaken. But the bribe was offered in vain. At one time, indeed, Redwald was half-disposed to yield, but his queen's remonstrances worked upon his better nature, and he refused to stain his hands with Edwin's blood. Ethelfrith then resorted to threats. Redwald dreaded the power of the Northumbrian prince, and his resolution to protect Edwin again wavered. The latter was aware of the danger he was in, and, whilst sadly musing upon his perilous condition, a stranger stood before him and questioned him on the subject of his deep despondency. He addressed him as one who knew his rank and all the perils which encompassed him. He spoke mysteriously of his future, hinted at his regaining his father's throne, and of the possibility of his hereafter meeting with one who should tell him of a better life and a higher and purer law than either he or his fathers had ever known. Edwin promised in answer to the stranger's questions that he would believe and obey the utterances of such a one if only they tended to his deliverance from the troubles that beset him and placed him again on his seat of

sovereignty. At the end of this strange interview his unknown visitor laid his hand upon his head, bade him remember that sign and bear in mind the promise he had made.

Finding at last that bribes, entreaties, and threats failed to procure the object he had in view, Ethelfrith took the field with a large force against the East Anglian king, in the hope of crushing him by numbers. But victory did not follow. He was defeated by Redwald in a battle that was fought on the banks of the Idle, near Retford. After this Edwin was enabled to return to Deira. He subsequently attacked Bernicia and by his conquest of that province re-united the two states, and Northumbria was again one kingdom, extending, as has been already said, from the estuary of the Humber to the Firth of Forth. Tradition marks him as the founder of Edinburgh—Edwin's burgh. He was a born ruler of men, and was not only a consummate leader in the field, but a sovereign whose energy and determination promoted the arts of peace and the security of his people. "With him began the English proverb so often applied to after kings : 'A woman with her babe might walk scathless from sea to sea in Eadwine's day.' Peaceful communication revived along the deserted highways ; the springs by the roadside were marked with stakes, and a cup of brass set beside each for the traveller's refreshment. Some faint traditions of the Roman past may have flung their glory round this new ' Empire of the English ;' a royal standard of purple and gold floated before Eadwine as he rode through the villages ; a

feather tuft attached to a spear, the Roman tufa, preceded him as he walked through the streets."¹ But his conquests were not confined to the recovery of Deira and the mastery of Bernicia. He finally conquered the British settlement which had so long and so stubbornly held its ground in the district of Elmete, near Leeds. He gained Chester and obtained possession of the islands of Anglesey and Man. "South of the Humber he was owned as over-lord by the five English states of Mid-Britain."²

The Angles, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, were at this time heathen. They were worshippers of Thor and Woden, of Friga and Sæter, whose names still survive on the lips of all of us in the appellations given to the days of the week. No attempt appears to have been made on the part of any British Christians to evangelise the pagan Angles. At this we cannot wonder. They stood in a mutual relation of fierce and unrelenting enmity. From the time the latter gained possession of the eastern seaboard they advanced step by step into the interior of the country, persistently driving the Britons further and further westward, until they were at last thrust into the fastnesses of Wales.

¹ Green's "History of the English People," i. p. 44.

² *Ibid*, p. 45.

CHAPTER II.

CHRISTIANITY was at length to be planted in the kingdom of Northumbria. It had already taken root in Kent. Ethelbert, the king of that province, had listened to the preaching of Augustine, and he and his people had embraced the faith of Christ. Ethelbert had passed away and his throne was filled by his son Eadbald. Edwin was desirous to ally himself with the royal house of Kent, and sent ambassadors to Eadbald, soliciting the hand of his sister Ethelburga. Eadbald refused to give his sister to one who, however eminent in position and excellent in character, was yet a heathen. But Edwin was not discouraged. He promised that Ethelburga should have the free exercise of her religion, and that all whom she brought in her train should have the like privilege. He even went so far as to promise also that he would listen to those who professed this new religion ; and that if it approved itself to his mind he might himself embrace it. Eadbald yielded, and Ethelburga became the wife of Edwin. She was his second wife. He had been previously married to Cwenburga, the daughter of the king of Mercia, by whom he had two sons, Osfrid and Eadfrid.

Ethelburga was accompanied by one whose name must be ever held in veneration as the great founder of Christianity in the kingdom of Northumbria. His name was Paulinus, and he had been "consecrated

to the episcopate" by Justus, Archbishop of Canterbury, "in order that he might be to Ethelburga in her northern home what Liudhard had been to her mother in the still heathen Kent."¹ Bede has preserved for us a description of his personal appearance, which brings the man most vividly before the mind's eye. His information was gained from one who had himself received it from an aged man who had received baptism at Paulinus's hands long years before in the river Trent, and who loved to describe the outward form and features of the servant of God who had admitted him into the fold of the Chief Shepherd. He pictured him as a man of more than ordinary stature, slightly stooping, with hair of raven blackness, of worn and wasted visage, his nose singularly slender, but high and curved like an eagle's beak, of commanding aspect, inspiring veneration and awe in all who met his gaze.

For some time Edwin showed no disposition to embrace the faith of his consort; but about a twelve-month after his marriage an event occurred of which Paulinus took advantage with reference to that end. Cwichelm, king of the West-Saxons, sent an assassin to slay Edwin. The foul deed was frustrated by the self-devotion of Lilla, one of his thanes, who received the blow that was aimed at his sovereign, and died under it, Edwin receiving only an insignificant wound. This happened on the great Easter festival. The same night Ethelburga gave birth to a daughter, to Edwin's great joy. He consented to the infant's baptism, which was solemnized on the Whitsunday

¹ Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 111.

following, and he promised that if he returned in safety from an onslaught upon Cwichelm which he meditated, in revenge for his treacherous and cowardly act, he would himself embrace the Christian faith. He made an attack accordingly upon the West-Saxons, whom he utterly routed. Paulinus had previously striven to excite his gratitude to the True God for the safety of his queen and the birth of his fair daughter. He now reminded him of his promise if his arms were crowned with success against Cwichelm. But Edwin was still irresolute. At last Paulinus laid his hand upon his head and asked him if he recognised that sign. It reminded Edwin of the dream or vision which he had had long before, and of the words which an unearthly visitor, as he believed, had addressed to him. He listened, awe-struck and trembling. The words of Paulinus made a deep impression upon his mind, and he became really desirous of adopting the Christian faith. But before taking the final step he called together an assemblage of the chief men of his kingdom, to lay before them all that was occupying his thoughts respecting the religion preached by this new teacher ; so that if its doctrines approved themselves to their minds, they, as well as himself, should be admitted through the laver of baptism into the fellowship of Christ's religion. Coifi, the chief priest of the idol temples, was the first to speak. He acknowledged that the heathen worship was unsatisfying, and that if the new teaching proved, after careful examination, to rest upon a surer basis and to offer a more certain hope, it should be at once embraced.

Another then spoke. He was evidently one whose age and dignity entitled him to be listened to with reverential attention. Like an Eastern sage, he threw his observations into the form of an apologue or parable. This tale, which Bede narrates so beautifully, has often been told, but the story of Edwin's conversion would scarcely seem complete without it. The speaker dwelt upon the strange mystery of human life, alike as regards its beginning and its end, both equally shrouded in impenetrable darkness. And he went on to remind the king and the other listeners of what they had often seen when gathered on a winter's night around the fire which blazed in the centre of the royal hall. Outside all is black and dark, and the howling wind is driving the sleet and the rain against the latticed windows. A door opens for a brief moment, and a poor bird takes refuge from the storm. But it tarries not to enjoy the light and the warmth. It is seen for a few seconds whilst flying across the hall. Some door or window on the opposite side is unclosed, and it disappears from the view of those who marked its flight,—lost in the darkness. It is a fitting emblem, he tells them, an apt similitude of the life of man, who appears for a little season and fulfils his appointed journey; but no earthly wisdom has hitherto told him from whence he came, or illumined the darkness which enfolds his departure. And the words of counsel wherewith he concluded his address were, that if the new teacher who had appeared among them had aught to tell which bore the stamp of certainty as regarded man's origin and his future fate, his words should be

listened to and his teaching followed. Coifi again spoke, and expressed an earnest desire to hear somewhat from Paulinus concerning the God whom he adored. The king assented, and with a glad and willing mind Paulinus unfolded to them the wondrous story of the gospel of Christ. Coifi listened with absorbed and awe-struck attention, and soon burst forth into words of strong conviction, acknowledging in the presence of that great assemblage that he had hitherto sought for truth, but in vain ; and that now he had met with teaching which satisfied all his longing aspirations, with its promises of life and salvation and eternal blessedness. With all the earnestness of a new-born zeal, he implored the king that the idols and their shrines, whose chief guardian and most devout worshipper he had been, should be torn down and given to the flames. Edwin's first utterance was a public acknowledgment of his own acceptance of the doctrine which Paulinus preached, and his absolute renunciation of all idol worship. His second was a question addressed to Coifi :— "Who shall be found," said he, "bold enough to enter the precincts of those fanes, so long regarded with veneration and awe, and tear down the images of Thor and Woden?" "I will," was the chief priest's reply ; "no one surely is fitter to undertake the work of destruction than the man who has so long fostered a people's ignorance and encouraged them in a worship which is vanity and folly." He then besought Edwin to furnish him with sword and spear, and to mount him on a war-horse. His request was granted. It was in itself an abnegation

of the office which he held, for the priest of an idol shrine was not permitted to carry weapons, and a mare was the only animal he was allowed to bestride. Thus armed, and thus mounted, he rode furiously to Goodmanham, a place of the highest sanctity. He flung his spear into the sacred enclosure, tore down the idols, and with joy and gladness and shouts of thanksgiving to the true God, he commanded those who accompanied him to join him in the utter destruction of that which had been the object of their ignorant but fond veneration. The people stood awe-struck. They thought Coifi was mad, and doubtless expected that the gods would avenge the insult offered to the place where they were enshrined. "But there was no voice, nor any that answered." It was the downfall of heathenism in Northumbria.

[A.D. 627.] Edwin's acceptance of Christianity was followed by its open profession by himself and the chief men of his kingdom, and a number of his people. During the period of instruction in the mysteries of the Christian faith which preceded his baptism, the erection of a church or oratory within the walls of York was rapidly carried on by Edwin's orders. It was of wood, resembling, probably, in its structure a church which yet survives at Greensted, near Ongar, and is a most curious and venerable relic of Saxon times, "and a visible exponent of the old Anglo-Saxon word *getymbrian*—to build." Under the shelter of this humble sanctuary Edwin was baptized by Paulinus on Easter day, the 12th April, 627. Some of "his nobles were baptized with him, and among the neophytes was his grand-niece Hilda, the

future abbess of Whitby." Paulinus soon suggested to his royal convert the erection of a larger and more stately church, which was at once commenced. It was of stone, and it enclosed within its four walls the little wooden structure which had been hastily put together for the baptism of the king. But Edwin did not live to witness its completion. This was effected by his successor Oswald. The oratory of wood has perished long ages ago, though it was carefully preserved down to the time of Archbishop Albert [A.D. 767-782]; but there are remains still visible which may possibly be associated with the basilica enclosing it, which was commenced by Edwin. Under the choir of York minster there is a dark and gloomy crypt, which may undoubtedly be regarded as the site of the church of St. Peter which synchronized with Edwin's baptism. Some small portions of Saxon masonry may be seen in its recesses. It may be, when we gaze upon them, that our eyes are resting upon fragments of the very walls which were reared by the first Christian king of Northumbria. That lowly building was the germ and the precursor of that glorious work of high intelligence which we now behold—the mighty minster which lifts its majestic head above the walls and towers and dusky buildings of the metropolis of the North, the pride and glory of the great shire of York, the mother-church of Northern England.

Paulinus was now free to commence in earnest the great work which he had in view—the preaching of God's word throughout the length and breadth of Northumbria. No aid was lacking which Edwin

could give. His two sons by his first consort, Osfrid and Eadfrid, received instruction from the saintly bishop, and were admitted as members of the Church of Christ. Not a few of the chief men of Northumbria followed the example of their sovereign. York was assigned as the place of his episcopal chair.

The labours of Paulinus extended far and wide. His voice was heard in the wilds of Glendale, at the foot of Cheviot, where for thirty-six days he was incessantly occupied in teaching and baptizing the inhabitants of the distant province of Bernicia. In Deira, where the king chiefly dwelt, it was the same. Crowds gathered round him on the banks of the Swale, and in its waters, as in a second Jordan, they were immersed in the All Holy Name ; for, as Bede says, in the infancy of that new-formed church, there were neither oratories nor baptisteries. The wild moorland hills, or the stretch of green pasture, where the thronging multitudes could gather round him, sufficed for the one, and the streams which glided by were an apt and fitting emblem of the spiritual purification which in a more settled time was typified by the other. We read at this time of the erection of one basilica only, with the exception, of course, of that at York. It was built at the royal vill of Campodunum, which may fairly be identified with the modern Doncaster.

For six years were the missionary labours of Paulinus carried on. When we read of Edwin's conversion being followed by that of many of the chief men of the kingdom, we are apt to think that some worldly motives might perchance mingle with their

change, and that it was not wholly spiritual in its character ; but this can scarcely be alleged with any semblance of truth as it regards the multitudes who, in one district after another, were attracted and impressed, savingly as we may well believe, by Paulinus' earnest preaching. It is quite clear from Bede's words that careful instruction preceded baptism. He speaks of his catechising, of his instructing them, of his preaching the word of God to them. And although the accretions of heathenism had overgrown it, like the moss and the lichen on the rock, there was amongst the Teutonic nations an underlying element of truth, dimly felt, no doubt, and imperfectly recognised, which yet responded, more or less readily, to the words which he uttered with all the fervour of a prophet of the Lord. Their earliest belief recognised One Supreme Ruler, all-powerful, omniscient, unchangeable, who cannot be limited by the boundaries of earthly space or represented under any human form. The *Edda* says, "He is called Allfadir in our tongue." It is true that this primitive belief¹ was darkened, debased, corrupted, amongst the Angles to whom Paulinus preached, but he had lived long enough amongst them, before he commenced his missionary work, to study their character, to make himself acquainted with their beliefs, and to seize upon and quicken any germs of truth which lay hidden beneath, and which were capable of being fructified. However this may be, the result of his work was marvellous. It was, so to speak, the conversion of a nation. He laid the foundations of

¹ See Maclear's "History of Christian Missions," pp. 17, 18.

Christian belief over the vast tract of country between the Humber and the Tweed. Neither was that all. He passed over the former great estuary into the district of Lindisse, or Lindsey, in Lincolnshire. "He preached in the old Roman hill town of Lincoln, and its reeve, or 'prefect,' as Bede calls him, 'Bloëcca' by name, became a convert, and began to build 'a stone church of noble workmanship,' the roofless walls of which were standing in Bede's own day." In Lincoln, moreover, he officiated on a very important occasion. Justus, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had passed away, and Honorius was elected to succeed him. Romanus, Bishop of Rochester, had perished at sea, whilst on a voyage to Rome, and Honorius sought consecration from Paulinus as the only representative in England of the episcopal order. Thus "the fifth archbishop of Canterbury was consecrated by the sole ministry of the first of a new line of bishops of York."¹ Paulinus baptised multitudes in Nottinghamshire also, in the waters of the Trent, near a place "which is usually identified with Southwell, where the minster of St. Mary, for ages connected with the see of York, has always claimed Paulinus as its founder."² Through Edwin's influence, Christianity was also extended to East Anglia. Bede tells us that his persuasions wrought upon Eorpwald, —whose father, Redwald, had given shelter and protection to Edwin in his day of need,—to embrace the faith of Christ.

But the spirit of heathendom could not be at once

¹ Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 122.

² *Ibid*, p. 123.

exorcised, and a fierce conflict was now about to commence. Cadwallon, king of North Wales, though a Christian in name, cherished a bitterly revengeful feeling against Edwin for a defeat which he had sustained at his hands some years before, when he invaded Northumbria. He had been driven back into Wales, and finally took refuge in Ireland. Penda, king of Mercia, "combined in his own person the fiercest energy of a Teuton warrior with the sternest resistance to the progress of the new creed." They joined their forces together to invade Northumbria, and encountered Edwin at a place called Hæthfeld, or Hatfield, on the south-eastern borders of Yorkshire, and here he was overpowered and slain. [A.D. 633, Oct. 12th.] His gallant son Osfrid shared the same fate, and his second son Eadfrid, who had surrendered himself to Penda, under promise that his life would be spared, was afterwards ruthlessly murdered by that savage Pagan. A total rout ensued. Edwin's whole army was scattered, numbers having perished on the battle-field, and the remainder escaping as best they could.¹ The whole country of Northumbria was devastated, and a terrible slaughter of the Christians took place. Penda's bitter hatred of Christianity was intelligible, but it was rivalled, nay exceeded, says Bede, by the atrocities wrought by Cadwallon. Neither age nor sex were spared, and the barbarity of torture added bitterness to death. The weakness of womanhood and the innocence of childhood were no protection. The so-called Christian warrior was more savagely cruel than his heathen ally.

¹ Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," ii. p. 20.

Edwin's head was brought to York by some of his faithful followers and placed in the basilica of St. Peter, the erection of which, as already stated, he had himself commenced. His body was likewise recovered, and was subsequently buried at Whitby.¹

A miserable year of tyranny and oppression followed. Cadwallon's feelings towards the Angles were those of the bitterest animosity, unsoftened by any recognition of a common Christianity. The antipathies of race were powerful with this savage prince, and he utterly refused to show any respect to the convictions of those who had received their knowledge of the Gospel from another and a hated source. Osric, a cousin of Edwin, on the death of the latter, exercised a precarious sovereignty in Deira, as did Eanfrid, the eldest son of Ethelfrid, in Bernicia. Both were Christians, but both now apostatised, under the idea of recommending themselves to Penda, and obtaining the support of that portion of Northumbria which still adhered to Paganism. Their apostasy secured not their safety. The blow was struck by Cadwallon, with impious hand, indeed, says Bede, but with a swift and just retribution. Osric made a rash attempt in the summer of 634 to seize the fortress at York, which was held by Cadwallon, and was slain. Before the end of the year Eanfrid, who ventured to approach the tyrant, accompanied by a small band of followers, to sue for peace, was ruthlessly put to death, and Cadwallon remained master of the great province of Northumbria.

It is almost needless to say that flight was abso-

¹ Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," iii. p. 24.

lutely necessary to secure the safety of Ethelburga, Edwin's widowed queen. To Paulinus' care she had been committed when she left her southern home, and under his protection she now set off on her perilous and mournful return. They went by sea, taking with them the queen's two children and the infant son of Osfrid, who had perished with his father on the fatal plain of Hæthfeld. They secured the costly furniture and vessels which Edwin had bestowed upon his church at York. A golden cross and chalice which formed part of that treasure were shown at Canterbury in the time of Bede.¹

Paulinus and his charge arrived safely in Kent. He soon received the see of Rochester. Not long after his flight from York he received a pallium from Pope Honorius I. The letter, in which the pontiff expressed his desire thus to confer upon Paulinus the dignity of Archbishop of the province of York, was addressed to Edwin, before the news of his death had reached the pope. But it was too late, and Paulinus has no claim, therefore, to a title which has often been mistakenly accorded to him. Little is known of his missionary labours in his southern see. He died on the 10th October, 644, and was buried in the church of St. Andrew at Rochester.

¹ "Ecclesiastical History," ii. p. 20.

CHAPTER III.

THE withdrawal of Paulinus from the scene of his labours, and the persecuting tyranny of the fierce conqueror who now dominated Northumbria, checked for a time the further progress of Christianity in that province, and not a few probably of those who had enrolled themselves under the standard of the Cross, in the time of persecution fell away. Yet the Christians were not altogether left as sheep without a shepherd. When Paulinus went his rounds teaching and baptising on the banks of the Swale and in the far-off glens over which Cheviot casts its shadow, he had been accompanied by his deacon, James, often designated as James the Chantor, from his skill in that ecclesiastical music or church-song which is associated with the name of Gregory the Great. To James the Deacon he left the care of the infant church. With unshrinking courage and calm fidelity he stood his ground, cheering, encouraging, emboldening the converts in those sad and trying days. And he pursued the mission which Paulinus had begun. His teaching and baptising, says Bede, gathered in a vast spoil, snatched out of the hands of man's arch-enemy. His chief abode was on the banks of the Swale, near Catterick, where a little vill was, when Bede wrote, still known by his name. Under a corrupted form it probably still survives in

the appellation of a farmhold, and some dim traditions yet cling to the Richmondshire hills, associating the name of James the Deacon with the scene of his life's labour and the place where he was laid in his quiet grave.

But a great and decisive victory over heathendom was at hand. When Ethelfrid, the king of Bernicia, was defeated and slain by Edwin, his sons took refuge in Scotland, where they remained during the reign of the latter. In that country, as Bede tells us, they were catechised after the manner of teaching practised by the Scots, and regenerated by the grace of baptism.¹ Eanfrid, the eldest, was, as we have seen, one of Cadwallon's victims. Oswald, the second son, became, by his brother's death, the rightful claimant of the throne of Bernicia. Each, probably, had received his Christian teaching in the monastery of Iona. As regards Oswald it may be affirmed with certainty, for the words of Bede expressly state that during his exile he received the sacrament of baptism among the seniors of the Scots, "by whom," says Mr. Skene, "those of the monastery of Iona are meant."²

Oswald was naturally anxious to regain the possession of his kingdom, and took the field, with an inferior force, against Cadwallon, who was encamped on the heights overlooking the valley of the Tyne. The position which the former chose for his troops was selected with great military skill. It was on high ground near Hexham, and was known by the

¹ "Ecclesiastical History," iii. p. 1.

² "Celtic Scotland," ii. 4, p. 154.

name of Heavenfield, close to the Roman wall. On this spot, partly protected by the wall and partly by a natural escarpment of rocks, Oswald erected a cross of wood. It "was the first occasion on which the sacred symbol had been erected in this part of the country," and was the standard under which his men were to fight, and a symbol of the victory which he looked to achieve over the hosts of heathendom. Around it he gathered his followers, and called upon them to join him in fervent prayer to the God of armies that He would bless them in their righteous conflict with the remorseless enemy of their holy faith. [A.D. 634 (close of).] The battle was fierce and protracted, but at last Cadwallon gave way and fled towards the south. At a place called Deniseburn he was overtaken and slain, and the power of the Britons was utterly broken.¹

Oswald was now the undisputed sovereign of Bernicia and Deira. He was in the prime of life, and the Christian teaching which his youth had received in the monastery of Iona bore its proper fruit in the sincere and earnest piety of his manhood. No sooner was he firmly seated on his throne than he began to devise means for the recovery of such of his people as had relapsed into heathenism and for the conversion of those who were still Pagan. He sought help from Iona. It was natural that he should do so. He knew its history; he was cognisant of the holy lives of its inmates and of their loving zeal for the conversion of those who were yet in the darkness of

¹ See Raine's "Hexham," Introduction, p. 13. (Published by the Surtees Society.)

heathendom. It had, indeed, a remarkable history. The church which Columba founded on that small island was no isolated one. It was an offshoot from that great Church of Ireland which sent missionaries all over Europe, and which at that period was not only a great centre of Christianity, but was a home of civilisation and of art. "After Columba's death, the monastery of Iona appears to have been the acknowledged head of all the monasteries and churches which his mission had established in Scotland, as well as of those previously founded by him in Ireland. To use the words of Bede—'This monastery for a long time held the pre-eminence over most of those of the northern Scots, and all those of the Picts, and had the direction of their people,'—a position to which it was entitled, as the mother-church, from its possession of the body of the patron saint."¹

Oswald's request that the community of Iona would send him some duly authorised person to evangelise his people was acceded to. The first who was sent was Corman, but he soon returned, complaining that his teaching had been utterly disregarded by the stubborn and impracticable people amongst whom he had been bidden to minister. The community were deeply grieved at Corman's report, and held a council to consider what had best be done. A holy man named Aidan was present. He uttered a few short and simple words, but they made a deep impression upon all. "My brother," said he, "thou hast been too

¹ Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. p. 148.

austere and hard upon hearers who possess but scant knowledge and have had but few opportunities of instruction. Thou shouldest have borne in mind the Apostle's words, and nourished them first, as babes, with the milk of God's word—its simplest and plainest precepts—till they should be capable of more advanced instruction and of receiving a sublimer teaching." The speaker ceased, but he had struck a chord which vibrated long. The eyes of all were fastened upon him, and they speedily agreed that no one could be so fitted for the work as the brother who had given such wise and loving counsel.

[A.D. 635.] Aidan was accordingly consecrated bishop, and sent into Northumbria in the summer of 635. On his arrival the king assigned him, at his own request, the small island of Lindisfarne as his episcopal seat. To Aidan it commended itself in all probability from its likeness to the Isle of Hii, or Iona, which had for him all the charms of early associations. Its seclusion, moreover, specially adapted it to be the home of a monastic family. Twice every day it was encircled with water :

"For with the flow and ebb, its style
Varies from continent to isle."—*Marmion*, c. 2.

Oswald's choice of it in preference to York as the seat of the bishop was possibly owing to its proximity to the royal fortress of Bamburgh rising proudly on its lofty basaltic rock. The organisation of the church over which Aidan presided was the same as the Columban church of Iona. The bishop was a monk, and led a monastic life with his people. The

abbot, chosen by the bishop with the consent of the brethren, governed the monastery, and all the priests, deacons, and other grades of its inmates, as well as the bishop himself, observed in all things the monastic rule.

His missionary work now commenced, and in it he received direct and personal assistance from the king. The language spoken by the Angles was an unknown tongue to Aidan, but Oswald came to his assistance, and it was a most touching thing, says Bede, to mark how patiently and carefully the king interpreted the word of life as it fell from the lips of the holy bishop and made it a living reality to the listening throng. Oswald completed the basilica at York which had been commenced by Edwin, and caused churches to be built throughout the district. He, moreover, granted tracts of land for the foundation of other monasteries. Care was also taken for the instruction of the children of the Angles by the Scotie teachers, and everything done for the promotion of discipline and order.

Much more might be said concerning this illustrious saint, but the history of Aidan is connected more especially with that of the diocese of Durham. Yet we may not omit to say with what generous and heartfelt readiness Bede enters into the minutest details of Aidan's life and work, showing how the surpassing beauty of his character bore down the prejudices, and they were neither few nor slight, with which Celtic Christianity was regarded by those who conscientiously accepted the authority of the Roman see.

For eight years Oswald ruled Northumbria. He was a wise and sagacious sovereign, and "was to Christians all that Edwin had been, and more : in reading of him we think instinctively of Alfred. Strength and sweetness were united in a character which almost represents the ideal of Christian royalty."¹ His rule extended far beyond Bernicia and Deira. The Picts and Scots, as we learn from Bede, accepted his authority with a willing submission. He might be designated as the over-lord of Britain. His administrative capacity was obviously great, and to that was superadded the deepest and sincerest piety. His devotion equalled that of the holy men who inhabited the monasteries of Iona or Lindisfarne. The darkness and silence of the midnight hours not unseldom echoed the prayers and praises of the saintly king, and the very attitude which his hands most naturally assumed bore silent witness to his custom of "praying everywhere, lifting up holy hands." His humility in the midst of all the outward pomp and state of a king was remarkable, as was also his loving charity to the poor of Christ. The latter was shown on one occasion by his sending off the untasted meat from his own table to feed a thronging crowd of hungry applicants, and then ordering a silver dish on which some of his viands had been served to be broken into small fragments of the precious metal and divided amongst them.

But his reign was to end all too soon for the onward march of Christianity at that time in Northumbria. The ancient enemy of his predecessor,

¹ Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 132.

Edwin, was biding his time for striking another blow at the power of Northumbria. Penda was in Mid-England the impersonation of the power of heathendom. He hated the name of Christian, and the violence of his antipathy to the Gospel of Christ was an additional element in the craving which he felt to abolish the supremacy of Northumbria's Christian king, who had regained the district of Lindsey from Penda's grasp. The latter was not one to submit tamely to any loss of territory or power. He gathered his forces together for a decisive blow. The two armies met at Maserfield, a place adjacent probably to the town whose name of Oswestry still commemorates in a scarcely corrupted form the name of Oswald, King and Martyr. Oswald was overpowered, and fell, fighting bravely, with the words of prayer on his lips, "God be merciful to the souls of those who are giving up their lives around me." The ruthless tyrant caused the head and arms of Oswald to be struck off and fixed upon stakes of wood set up on the battle-field. They were afterwards recovered by the pious care of some of his Christian subjects. The head was buried at Lindisfarne by Aidan, and eventually placed in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, within whose arms it was found when his tomb at Durham was opened in 1104. His hands were placed in a reliquary of silver and reverently preserved in the church of St. Peter at Bamburgh. Popular veneration soon associated miracles of healing with the place where he fell, and with splinters of the stakes to which his head had been affixed, and his name soon became inscribed in the church's calendar as Saint

Oswald, King and Martyr. As "his life was distinguished at once by activity and by a spirit of fervid Christian beneficence, so his Christian merits and his martyrdom rendered him a hero of the Christian world."¹

Oswald was succeeded in the rule of Bernicia by his younger brother Oswy. There seems at first to have been joint sovereignty, over that province and Deira, exercised by Oswy and Oswin, the son of Osric the cousin of Edwin. A partition was however soon agreed to, and the latter became king of Deira. During the first year of Oswy's reign Penda's policy as regards the mastery of Northumbria appears to have led him to press forward into Bernicia, and seize, if it might be, upon the fortress of Bamburgh. The attempt failed. He tore down a number of timber dwellings in the vicinity, heaped up their beams and planks and thatch against the gates and walls of the castle and set fire to them. But the wind shifted, in answer it was believed to Aidan's supplications, who watched the progress of Penda's ruthless efforts from his isle of Lindisfarne. The sudden change of wind drove the flames back upon the assailants and so discouraged them that the attempt was abandoned. Penda soon afterwards retired from Northumbria.

For some time the two sovereigns of Bernicia and Deira mutually preserved outwardly peaceful relations. But it was the calm that precedes the storm. Each was gathering together his forces for an attack upon the other. Oswin found that his rival had

¹ Lappenberg, i. p. 161.

succeeded in mustering a stronger body of auxiliaries than he could bring into the field. So he took the resolution of disbanding his men until a more favourable opportunity should present itself, and retired to a place of concealment near Gilling, in Richmondshire, at the dwelling of a certain Hunwald, on whose fidelity he placed the most implicit reliance. He was accompanied by one faithful follower only. But he relied upon a broken reed. Hunwald was faithless, and betrayed to the Bernician king the place of Oswin's refuge. Oswy found a ready tool in Ethelwin, his steward, who made his way to Gilling and there murdered the king of Deira and his faithful companion.

The loss of Oswin to the Christians of Deira must have seemed irreparable. His character, as drawn by the hand of Bede, is one of singular beauty. He describes him as a man of stately presence, of prepossessing countenance and most winning manner; liberal and "open-handed to gentle and simple," he gained the affection of all who came into his presence, and his many excellent qualities of mind and heart were enhanced above all by his singular humility. It was no wonder that Aidan loved him as a son as well as revered him as a Christian ruler. But his very excellence caused a sad foreboding in Aidan's mind. With a sort of prophetic instinct he said to a priest who asked him on one occasion why his countenance was so sad and why the tears flowed unbidden from his eyes, "It is because I know that the king will not be long with us. I never knew one so eminent for the grace of humility. Rely upon it

he will soon die. This people are not worthy of such a ruler."¹

[A.D. 651, Aug. 31.] Aidan did not long survive him. Within twelve days after Oswin's murder he too rested from his labours. He died at Bamburgh, after a sudden and brief attack of illness, on the 31st August, 651.

The relations of Aidan with the Bernician king up to the time of Oswin's murder had been such as befitted their relative positions. He took interest in the negotiations which Utta, the superior of a monastery at Gateshead, had been authorised to enter into for obtaining for Oswy the hand of Eanfleda, the daughter of Edwin and the cousin of Oswin. It was at his invitation that another kinswoman of Edwin came into Northumbria, who was destined in after years to occupy one of the most prominent positions in the church of that province ever occupied by one of the female sex. This was Hilda, the grand-niece of Edwin, who, as has been already mentioned, was admitted into the fold of Christ by Paulinus. She came into Northumbria from East Anglia. After a short abode with a few companions on the northern bank of the Wear, she became the head of a sisterhood at Hereteu, or Hartlepool. The interments of some of the inmates of this little nunnery were discovered in 1833. Some of the inscribed stones which marked their resting-places are still preserved. From this place "the abbess Heiu, the first of all Northumbrian women to receive the monastic habit from Aidan's own hand,

¹ Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," p. iii. 14.

had retired to another abode at Tadcaster," which may probably be identified with Healaugh (Heiu's læg or territory), about three miles north of that town. Hilda's government of those who placed themselves under her rule, was based upon the wise and holy counsels she had received from many learned men, but to none did she owe so much as to the saintly bishop of Lindisfarne, who loved her as a daughter, and was never weary of giving her instructions for her guidance. The seed which he sowed fell upon no barren or unfruitful soil.

The murder of Oswin soon avenged itself in the remorseful feelings which were awakened in the breast of Oswy. He had married Eanfleda, the daughter of Edwin and cousin of his victim. Her reproaches appear to have roused in him some feeling of repentance, and at her entreaty a monastery was founded at the place where Oswin was slain, and placed under the government of Trumhere, a kinsman of the latter, and a priest "of Scotie training and ordination," to the end that prayers might be offered in this house of Gilling alike for the souls of the murdered prince and of him who had caused him to be slain. The body of Oswin was buried at Tyne-mouth, where a chapel had already been erected, and where a monastery was not long afterwards founded. He was afterwards canonised as St. Oswin.

Oswy, like his brothers, had received his religious training in the monastery of Iona. The Scotie ecclesiastics who had been his teachers held views as regarded certain matters of discipline which were vehemently opposed by those whose Christianity was

drawn from the Roman source, and who followed the practice of Augustine, Justus, and Paulinus. Another bishop, named Finan, came from Iona to succeed Aidan, and a question was revived which led in its final settlement to results of the utmost importance, affecting, not the Northumbrian Church alone, but that of the whole of England. The questions which occupied the fore-front in the controversy were the right time for celebrating the great Easter festival and the proper mode of fashioning the ecclesiastical tonsure. These questions were not new. They first came prominently into view when Columbanus went on a mission into Gaul, accompanied by twelve of his followers, in 590. "They were tonsured, but in a different manner from the Gaulish ecclesiastics. Their heads were shaved in front from ear to ear, the anterior half of the head being made bare, while their hair flowed down naturally and unchecked from the back of the head," whilst the Roman tonsure left a circle or coronal of hair around the head, the crown of which was closely shaven.¹ As to the Paschal question, the Roman Church had adopted the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, and laid aside the old Paschal cycle of eighty-four, which was still adhered to by the Scotie Church. Both were unanimous in keeping the festival on the Lord's day, but with this difference, the latter kept it on the Sunday which occurred from the 14th to the 20th day of the moon, whilst the Roman Church held their Paschal feast on that which came between the 15th and the 21st. To secure uniformity, the adoption of the

¹ See Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. p. 6.

Roman practice was urgently pressed upon Finan, chiefly by an ecclesiastic named Ronan, of Scottish birth, but who had been trained in either Gaul or Italy. Finan was a man of stern and unyielding temper, and refused to recognise the arguments so pertinaciously forced upon him, though backed by the authority of James the Deacon, the venerable representative of Paulinus' teaching. But nothing carried conviction to Finan's mind, and for the remainder of his lifetime the contest about Easter was unrenewed. It will shortly meet us again.

An interesting conversion took place during Finan's episcopate. Penda, the old pagan tyrant, had a son called Peada, to whom his father had committed the rule of the Mid-Angles. Peada sought an alliance with Alchfled, Oswy's daughter. His suit was rejected, just as Edwin's had been by Eadbald, and for the same reason. But Peada had acquired some knowledge of Christianity from Alchfrid, Oswy's son, who had married Kyniberga, Peada's sister, and he announced that even though the maiden's hand were refused him, he should still embrace the faith of Christ. He was accordingly baptised by Finan in that "famous royal town," as Bede calls it, "called 'At the Wall.'" This was probably Newcastle. All his followers were baptised with him, and when he took his homeward journey, Finan sent along with him four priests, Cedd, Addi, Betti, and Diuma, by name, to commence a mission work amongst the people whom Peada ruled. "They preached the word amongst them," says Bede, "and were willingly heard." Multitudes renounced their idols and were

baptised. Strange to say, even Penda, the old and fierce enemy of all that bore the Christian name, interposed no obstacles to their preaching in Mercia. In his own person, indeed, he was Pagan still, and remained so to the end, but his active opposition ceased for a time. For one class of converts only was reserved an expression of the most contemptuous disgust, which has been preserved by Bede, those, namely, whose Christian profession was contradicted by an unholy life.

CHAPTER IV.

WITH the conversion of Peada and his people, Christianity was now spreading over a wider extent of country than it had hitherto occupied, and the resistance of heathenism was in many ways weakened. Another mission was now sent to the East Saxons. Sigebert the Good, as in after time he was called, the king of that people, had paid a visit to Oswy. Many conversations passed between them on the great subject of a God not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. "The passage in which Bede summarises the Northumbrian king's pleading against idolatry is one of the finest in his book; it reads like a combination of some well-known arguments of Isaiah, with those grand words into which Tacitus compresses the case for Monotheism."¹ At last Sigebert yielded, and was baptised by Finan at the same place where Peada, not many months before, had made his Christian profession. Like Peada, he sought teachers for his people. Cedd was sent, and gathered many converts. [A.D. 654.] In the following year he was consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne by Finan, assisted by two other bishops, and returned to the province "with greater authority" than before. "He built

¹ Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 169. He refers to Isaiah xlv. 10, &c., and Tacitus' History, v. 51, "*Judæi mente sola unumque Deum intelligunt*," &c.

churches and ordained presbyters and deacons to assist him in preaching and baptising,"—"a sort of foreshadowing," says Professor Bright,¹ "of the parochial system."

A terrible and final struggle was now at hand. Penda, though he had now reached fourscore years, had lost none of his energy, and made a furious attack upon East Anglia. Anna and his army perished. In the following year he contrived some pretext for an attack upon Northumbria. The alliances that had taken place between his son Peada and Oswy's daughter on the one hand, and between Alchfrid, Oswy's son, and Penda's daughter Kyniburga on the other, were utterly unregarded as guarantees of lasting amity. The placing by Oswy of another son as a hostage with Penda's queen, and the offer of a costly subsidy were equally nugatory. The ancient warrior gathered together a vast host, far exceeding in numbers the force which Oswy could bring into the field. But Oswy was strong in a higher strength than Penda knew of, and he vowed a vow unto the Lord that if victory were granted him he would give his infant daughter to serve Him in holy virginity, and would assign twelve tracts of land for the maintenance of as many monasteries. [655, Nov. 15.] The armies met at a place called Winuæd-field, near a river which may probably be identified with that now known as the Went. The battle was fierce and bloody. Penda fell, and his army was destroyed, more perishing in the waters which were

¹ "Early English Church History," p. 171. See also Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," iii. p. 24.

swollen by the rains of autumn, than by the sword. It was a decisive blow. "It was a great day for the independence of the kingdoms, and a still greater for their Christianity. On the one hand, 'the plains of Yorkshire witnessed the emancipation of England;' on the other hand, 'Penda fell, and with him fell Paganism.'"¹

Oswy gained by this victory a position of high and undisputed authority, and, speaking generally, Christianity extended in a greater or lesser degree over all the kingdoms of the island, with the solitary exception of that of Sussex. To this spread he had largely contributed. He fulfilled his vow by the foundation of the twelve monasteries, and he placed his little daughter Elfred under the care of Hilda at Hartlepool. Six of the monasteries were founded in Bernicia and six in Deira.

¹ Such is the received account of the battle and the locality where it was fought, in the region of the Loidis (see Bright, p. 176, Turner, i. p. 374, and Milman's "Latin Christianity," ii. p. 244). One is unwilling that "the plains of Yorkshire" should lose their distinction, but Mr. Skene adduces arguments in favour of the plain of Gai, on the Frith of Forth, where the continuator of "Nennius" says that Penda was slain. Bede mentions Loidis in one other passage, where he certainly means Leeds; but it is equally certain that Lothian was likewise called the region of the Loidis, and if it may be presumed that Bede here means the latter, it at once reconciles the two accounts. On the other hand, Florence of Worcester tells us that Penda's attack was upon Bernicia, and this kingdom was more immediately under the rule of Oswy. If Mr. Skene's suggestion be accepted, the river Winuaed would be the Avon, which divides the province of Loidis from the district of Calatria, called in the Irish annals "Calathros," and by the Britons "Catraeth." See "Celtic Scotland," i. pp. 254-256.

The monasteries which arose in Northumbria at this period, as well as those which were due to the zeal and piety of Aidan, were different in their constitution from the communities which in after years became the great centres of religion, learning, and civilisation under the rule of St. Benedict. They followed the type of that which St. Columba founded in 563 in the island of Iona. The great object of those whose Christian love impelled them to engage in the arduous task of winning over a barbarous and savage race of Pagans to a belief in Jesus, was to exhibit the Christian life to them under its purest outward form. They were missionary centres, homes of peace and order, houses of prayer, from which a light, not of divine instruction alone, but of holy living, streamed forth upon the darkness around.

They were called a "family," for all were brethren, admitted under a solemn vow, and divided into three classes. The chief duty of the first, or seniors, was to attend to the services of the House of God, and to read and transcribe the Scriptures. Another division consisted of working brethren, whose business it was to cultivate the ground attached to the monastery and attend to its domestic economy. Whilst a third class included the young who were under instruction. The penitential discipline was severe, and even the ordinary mode of living of an ascetic character. Submission to rule and simplicity characterised all their arrangements and all their teaching. Their earliest monasteries were built of wood. The teaching was simple also, unincumbered with minuteness or splendour of ritual observance. The recitation of

the Psalter was apparently an important part of their worship ; but the chief and principal service was undoubtedly the celebration on the Lord's day, and on great festivals, of the Sacred Mysteries of the Eucharist, as Adamnan designates that Holy Sacrament. "To use the language of Columbanus, the Columban Church 'received nought but the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles ;' and as we learn from Adamnan, the foundation of Columba's preaching, and his great instrument in the conversion of the heathen was the Word of God." The intercourse of the Irish Church and its daughter the Columban Church, with the Church of Rome had long been interrupted ; and when a claim of authority was made on the part of the latter with reference to matters of faith and practice, the former "opposed the custom of their fathers, for which they claimed the sanction of the second general council, held in the year 381."¹

Finan died [A. D. 661, Feb. 10], and was succeeded by Colman. His orders, like Finan's, were derived from a Scotie source. He had not long occupied the episcopal chair before the questions respecting the proper time for observing Easter, and about the tonsure, which Finan's influence had been powerful enough to put on one side for a time, were again revived. And here a great and commanding figure comes into view, destined for forty long years to occupy the chief place in the ecclesiastical history of the Church in Northumbria, nay, we may almost say, in England. It is the figure of Wilfrid, who, with varying fortunes, filled the episcopal chair

¹ Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. p. 104.

of York, and has been recognised by successive generations as patron saint of Ripon.

Before proceeding with the account of the Synod which decided the Paschal question, a brief sketch must be given of Wilfrid's early history, and how it came to pass that he occupied so prominent a place at that important conference. Wilfrid was born about 634. He was of good descent, and at a very early age was desirous of quitting his home and devoting himself to the service of God in some monastic house. His father consented; but it was needful also that he should have the consent of Oswy, the Northumbrian king. He was a bright and attractive lad, and won favour in the eyes of Eanfleda, Oswy's queen. She sent the boy to Lindisfarne, under the care of an aged retainer who was proceeding thither to end his days under monastic rule. There the boy passed four years, diligently studying all that the monks could teach, and, above all, learning by heart the Psalter in Jerome's version, and was loved by all. Somehow or other he was led to cherish an ardent desire to visit Rome, and to study the rules of ecclesiastical discipline as there taught. Eanfleda gave him a letter to her brother Erconbert, the king of Kent. [A.D. 653.] At Canterbury he spent a year, at the expiration of which he was sent by Erconbert to Rôme, in company with one who was hereafter to be known as Benedict Biscop, the future founder of the monastery of Wearmouth, the zealous and earnest student, the lover of religious art and culture. On their way they halted at Lyons, where Wilfrid remained for some time, his companion pressing

onwards to Rome. At Lyons Wilfrid received the most tempting offers from the Archbishop of that see, who had conceived a great affection for him, to induce him to remain. But his purpose was fixed and his face set towards Rome. Here he spent some time in diligent study, devoting special attention to the calculations as received there for the regulation of the Easter Festival; and here he received the Roman tonsure, thus withdrawing his allegiance from the Scotie discipline under which he was professed at Lindisfarne. He studied under archdeacon Boniface for several months, and by him was presented, before taking his departure, to the pope, Eugenius I. He dismissed him with a solemn blessing and an earnest prayer. Wilfrid took Lyons again on his homeward journey, and remained there three years with the Archbishop, narrowly escaping death when he accompanied the latter to the place of execution, on his being condemned to die on some charge of treason or disaffection. This happened in 658, at the latter end of which year he returned to Northumbria.

A close and intimate friendship now took place between Wilfrid and Alchfrid, the son of Oswy, under whom he was ruler of Deira. Alchfrid, as Bede tells us, "had learned both to love and follow the catholic church rules."¹ Their views on all matters of ecclesiastical discipline were therefore in full accord, and no long time elapsed before Wilfrid received from Alchfrid lands at Stamford, on the river Derwent, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and soon afterwards the monastery of Ripon was also bestowed upon him.

¹ "Ecclesiastical History," iii. p. 25.

Ripon was a colony from Melrose. Eata, afterwards bishop of Lindisfarne, was its abbot ; and one whose name can never be forgotten in the North, the saintly Cuthbert, went with him as the "hostillar" of the monastery. The monks who had been sent there refused to sympathise with Alchfrid's strongly-expressed views on the Paschal question, and retired from Ripon, probably about 661. Wilfrid became its abbot, and thus commenced his relations with a place with which his name is even now inseparably associated ; and here he was admitted into the order of the priesthood, at Alchfrid's request, by Agilbert, a French bishop, who had the oversight of the West Saxons.

In 664 the disputes which from time to time had been carried on between the two rival parties appeared imperatively to demand a settlement, hastened probably by the anomaly of a double Easter perpetually recurring at the court of Oswy—the one observed by the king and his Scotie ecclesiastics, the other by Eanfleda and her followers, under the guidance of her priest, Romanus. Agilbert, the bishop, came to spend a little time with his friend Alchfrid, attended by a priest named Agatho, and the necessity of arriving at some definite conclusion was, doubtless, a subject of no little thought and discussion. Alchfrid strongly espoused the Roman view, as did the queen, Eanfleda. His father, Oswy, still adhered to the Scotie practice, but was at last prevailed upon to summon a gathering of "all the orders in the church system" for the discussion of the subject. It was assembled at a place called Streoneshalch, where the

abbess, Hilda, had recently planted a monastery on land which was probably a part of the grant made by Oswy in fulfilment of the vow which he made before the battle of Winuaedfield. It is better known by its Danish name of Whitby.

Hither came Oswy and his son to meet the assemblage. On the Scotie side were ranged Colman and his clergy; on the Roman were Agilbert, the bishop, attended by Agatho and Wilfrid. The venerable deacon, James, representing the traditions of Paulinus, and Romanus were on the same side. Abbess Hilda was there also with her train of holy women from the convents which were under her rule, ready to give her voice in favour of Scotie usage, in which she was supported by Cedd, the venerable bishop of the East Saxons, and the founder of the monastery of Lastingham, the remains of which may yet be seen amongst the Pickering hills. He acted as interpreter, for many of them knew not each others' tongue.

Oswy presided, and after a few brief words on the desirableness of unanimity amongst those who professed a like faith in Christ, he desired Colman to tell the assembly the origin and the reason of the rites which he advocated. The Scotie bishop referred them to the customs which they had inherited from a long line of spiritual ancestry, traced back as they believed to the practice of the beloved Apostle St. John. Oswy then invited Agilbert to expound his views on the opposite side. He besought the king to permit Wilfrid, the priest, to speak in his stead, for that he being a foreigner could only speak through an interpreter, whilst Wilfrid as a native would be free from

that embarrassment, and do more ample justice to his theme. Leave was granted, and Wilfrid became the chief spokesman on the Roman side. He began by telling them of the world-wide observance of the Roman usage,—that, as he himself could testify, it prevailed not at Rome alone, but throughout Italy and Gaul, yea, in the far distant lands of Africa, Asia, Egypt, and Greece. It was, in a word, the usage of every clime and of every nation which had embraced the faith of Christ. None rejected it save only those perverse individuals who, in common with the Picts and Britons, were foolishly and vainly opposing themselves to the otherwise universal consent of the Christian world.

Colman repudiated the charge of folly by suggesting that it was an unworthy accusation against those who were simply following the example of the Apostle who had reclined his head upon the Lord's breast.

Wilfrid replied by giving a summary of the whole question, entering into the various reasons why their peculiarity of reckoning should not be admitted, and concluded by asking whether Columba, great and holy though he were, ought to hold a higher place in their estimation, and his rule be accepted with a deeper veneration than that which was due to the chief of the Apostles, him to whom the Lord had said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church ; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

Wilfrid ceased. Oswy was deeply moved by this appeal. He turned to Colman with the question,

"Were these words verily uttered by the Lord to Peter?" "It is true, O King," was the only reply which could be given. "Have you anything to show," pursued Oswy, "that a like power was ever given to your venerated Columba?" "Nothing," was the answer. The king went on,—“Are you both agreed that these words were spoken specially to Peter, and that to him were given by the Lord the keys of the kingdom of heaven?” “On that point,” the disputants replied, “we are quite agreed.” “I tell you, then,” said the royal president, “if Peter be the door-keeper I will say nought in opposition to him, but will in all things obey him; lest when I present myself at the gates of that kingdom I find them locked and barred, and he who beyond all question is the porter, and alone has power to open, should refuse to turn the key.”

There was much discussion likewise respecting the modes of tonsure advocated respectively by the Scotie and Roman party, but Bede gives no particulars as to the arguments adduced on either side. The questions which came before the Synod, viewing them as we do through the long vista of centuries, appear to have provoked a very disproportionate amount of contention and acerbity. But in all ages matters of ritual are apt to provoke controversy, and to embitter the feelings of disputants to an extent far exceeding the intrinsic importance attaching to them.

The great majority of the council pronounced in favour of the Roman usage on both of the points in controversy. Even Cedd relinquished the Scotie practice. Colman went his way, discomfited but unconvinced.

He resigned his see and quitted Holy Island, followed by all the Scotie brethren of the monastery and about thirty Northumbrian members of the community. He eventually founded a monastery in Ireland, where he died in 676. Before leaving Northumbria he besought of Oswy that he would appoint as head of the brethren who remained one who had been a disciple of Aidan. The king consented, and Eata became abbot of Lindisfarne. Tuda was appointed, probably before the end of 664, as Colman's successor in the bishopric, "a good man and a religious," but his episcopate was a brief one. He was carried off by the Yellow Pest, as it was called, which was fatal both to "high and low, not sparing the king of the Kentishmen, nor the Archbishop of Canterbury himself." Cedd also died at Lastingham in this same year, a victim probably to the same disease.

With the Synod of Whitby "we bid farewell to the old Scotie Church of Northumbria. It could not but pass away, for it could not provide what Northumbria then needed : it had but a temporary mission, but that mission it fulfilled with a rare simplicity of purpose. It brought religion straight home to men's hearts by sheer power of love and self-sacrifice ; it held up before them, in the unconscious goodness and nobleness of its representatives, the moral evidence for Christianity ; it made them feel what it was to be taught and cared for in the life spiritual by pastors who, before all things, were the disciples and ministers of Christ, whose chief and type was a St. Aidan."¹

¹ Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 204.

CHAPTER V.

BESIDES the triumph of the Roman party, the synod of Whitby produced another result, the re-establishment of the bishopric of York. A witan, or general assembly of the chief men of the kingdom, was gathered together to elect a bishop, and at the instance, probably, of Alchfrid, their choice fell upon Wilfrid. He yielded a somewhat reluctant assent, but utterly refused to receive consecration at the hands of any of the Scotie bishops, and requested permission to go to France for that purpose. Leave was accorded, and he was consecrated at Compiègne by Bishop Agilbert and twelve other prelates, probably about the beginning of the year 665. The ceremonial was one of singular magnificence. For some reason or another he remained in France until the spring of 666. His misfortunes now began. A violent storm wrecked him on the coast of Sussex, and he narrowly escaped with his life from the attack of the barbarous inhabitants, who rushed down after their manner to seize upon and plunder the stranded vessel.

When he returned to York he found a grievous mortification awaiting him. The Scotie party was not extinct, and amongst those who had accepted the decision of the Whitby synod there were some who perchance thought that his rule might be stern and

arbitrary. It is possible there might be another reason. Wilfrid was celebrated for his proficiency in the Roman law, and it is not improbable that, in part at least, he owed his unpopularity in England to this circumstance. It contributed not a little unquestionably to the undeviating support he received from the apostolic see. His long delay in returning to York was a convenient handle for such as had little love for him, and Oswy was prevailed upon to make another appointment. Chad, who had succeeded his brother as Abbot of Lastingham, was suggested. His fitness was undoubted. He was consecrated by Wini, Bishop of Winchester, "the only prelate at that time who had been consecrated according to the Roman ritual." Wini was assisted in the office by two British bishops, who adhered to the old practice as regarded the time of the Paschal feast. Chad's consecration took place about the beginning of 666, after which he returned to his diocese, and devoted himself with singular fidelity to all the duties of his holy office. He was diligent in the study of Holy Scripture. He traversed every district in his wide sphere of labour, visiting the towns and villages, not omitting the shepherd's hut and the herdsman's cottage, anxiously desirous that all should have an opportunity of hearing something concerning the good news of salvation through Christ their Saviour. And with apostolic zeal and simplicity his long and painful journeys on this blessed errand were always performed on foot.

Wilfrid, we may well believe, felt no little chagrin when he found that his see was occupied, especially

by one who maintained the Scotie rules. But he offered no opposition. He retired to his monastery at Ripon, discharging occasionally episcopal offices in Mercia, and especially in Kent, whither he was invited by Egbert. At Canterbury he made himself master of the Benedictine rule, which he was afterwards the first to introduce into the northern districts of England. Here also he studied architecture and all its kindred arts. Church music was likewise practised and cultivated with sedulous care. Like all men of great force of character, he attracted followers who adhered to him with enthusiastic devotion ; such as Eddi, subsequently the great teacher of church song in Northumbria, and his loving and faithful biographer, not to mention Æona and many others.

Wilfrid's absence from Northumbria was not, however, of very long duration. The year 669 witnessed the arrival in England of one who did more to consolidate and organise the Church of England than any other prelate who has occupied the chair of St. Augustine. This was Theodore, a Greek monk, "born at Tarsus, a city of Cilicia," well skilled in literature, both sacred and profane, familiar with both the Greek and Latin tongues, of irreproachable morals and venerable age, being threescore and six years old. His name was suggested to Pope Vitalian by Hadrian, the head of a monastery near Naples, whom he had designed for the vacant see of Canterbury, when Wighard's death occurred at Rome, where he had been sent for consecration by Oswy as Bretwalda, Egbert, and others, representing the general will of the Church of the English race.

Hadrian had refused, but he consented at the Pope's urgent request to accompany Theodore to Canterbury. Benedict Biscop, then at Rome, was also sent with him. Age had not impaired Theodore's powers, either of body or mind. His practical ability was singularly great, and he was the first Archbishop, as Bede tells us, to whom the whole church of the Angles freely accorded their allegiance.¹ "Great stress was naturally laid on his having been sent directly from Rome, and consecrated by the Pope's own hands and voice: but this advantage was enhanced by his own personality, so that, on all accounts, his arrival forms an epoch."²

Theodore at once commenced a visitation of the vast tract of country over which his spiritual oversight extended. It was not long before he arrived in Northumbria. Here he found that Chad had for three years ruled the church of York, as Bede says, *sublimiter*. But there were certain matters connected with his position which Theodore could not overlook. He told Chad abruptly that his consecration was not in due form. The lowly-minded bishop answered with touching humility both of voice and manner, "If thou art well assured of that, I will most willingly resign my charge. I never thought myself worthy of it. I accepted it in deference to the behest of those who had a right, as I deemed, to claim my obedience." Theodore was touched and softened by this utter want of self-assertion. "No,"

¹ "Manus dare consentiret." Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," iv. p. 2.

² Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 225.

he said, "you are not bound to resign the bishopric." Chad, however, retired to his monastery at Lastingham, and Wilfrid took possession of the see of York. Chad was shortly afterwards made Bishop of Lichfield, through the express intervention of Theodore, who, as it would seem, supplied whatever canonical defects were, from his point of view, inherent in his former consecration. Of all the characters in the Northumbrian Church none is more beautiful than that of Chad. We can scarcely say that it is surpassed by that of Aidan. On none does Bede dwell with more loving and heartfelt veneration, and in most touching words does he describe his latter end. He was taken to his rest on the 2nd March, 672.

Wilfrid was now the head of the great diocese of Northumbria. His first care was to restore the waste places in the chief city of the province over which he presided. The church which Edwin and Paulinus had erected, and within which was enshrined the humble structure which had witnessed the baptism of the royal convert, had fallen into utter disrepair, its stones crumbling, the rain-drops falling through its broken roof, its windows shattered so that birds flew in and out at their pleasure, building their nests where they would, and making dirt and litter in every corner of the sanctuary. Wilfrid, as his biographer, Eddi, tells us, "was grieved in his spirit" at the sight. His energy soon wrought a change. The roof received a covering, as we are specially told, of the best lead. The windows were repaired, and the walls were made pure and clean with the whitewasher's brush, till they

portions of the building. At Hexham, Roman stones were utilized in the construction of its walls. He tells also of its architectural beauty above ground, its stately columns, the length of its aisles, and the ingenuity and skill displayed in its newel stairs. But he stops short in his narration, confessing that his descriptive talent is all unequal to the task. The singular crypts, so exactly resembling each other, both at Ripon and Hexham, were probably a reproduction, on a miniature scale, of the catacombs at Rome, and Wilfrid doubtless emulated, as far as he was able, in the churches which he built above them, the stateliness and beauty of some of the Roman basilicas. The privilege of sanctuary was possessed by Hexham. It was acquired for that church by Wilfrid himself. The *frith-stol*, or seat of peace, still remains there.

But he was not unmindful of the "living stones" who were to be "builded together for an habitation of God through the spirit." We read of his constant journeys throughout his diocese, baptising and confirming. We are told of the numbers of priests and deacons whom he ordained as his fellow-helpers, indicating the growth of something like a parochial system. He was careful in the cultivation of church song, in which he had the assistance of Eddi and Æona. In his personal habits he was self-denying, even to asceticism, yet no outward austereness ever marred the graciousness of a manner which made him beloved by all who came within the sphere of an influence which extended widely over all ranks and degrees of men, and all the various races who inhabited the vast tract of country which, in name at

least, was under his spiritual care. Such was Wilfrid in the plenitude of his early power. But trouble was nigh at hand. Oswy was no longer living. He died on 15th February, 670, and was buried in the church of Whitby. Ecgfrid his son succeeded him. For some time the relations between him and Wilfrid were amicable, but a subject of dissension arose, which caused a wound which was never healed. Ecgfrid's first wife was Etheldreda, the donor of the territory which Wilfrid made the seat of his monastery at Hexham. She was an unwilling bride, and though a wife in name, insisted upon living as though she were a cloistered nun. At last she actually took the veil at Coldingham, and Wilfrid was believed to have received her profession. At all events he promoted her escape to Ely, and made her abbess of that monastery.

After this Ecgfrid married a second wife, Ermenburga, a woman of fierce and violent temper, who conceived a bitter hatred against Wilfrid, and aggravated her consort's feelings against him by fomenting a jealousy of the wealth and influence which the great bishop had attained. It was undoubtedly great in more ways than one. It was great in ecclesiastical matters. Richard of Hexham calls him "the father of nine monasteries," and says that many abbots and abbesses "commended their houses to his keeping, others named him their successor." He lived in a style of princely grandeur, attended at home and followed when he travelled abroad by a host of retainers.

There can be little doubt that Theodore was not long in England before he began to form plans for a

division of the enormous dioceses of the early Saxon bishops, which were for the most part commensurate with the kingdoms in which they were established. With regard to Northumbria it has been suggested by Lappenberg that Theodore was not without some suspicion that Wilfrid was laying the foundations of an independent archbishopric. However this might be, one thing is clear,—that in the steps which he took for the partition of the great northern diocese, Wilfrid was not called into council at all.

Theodore's visit to Northumbria in the year 678 appears to have been on the invitation of Ecgfrid. He called certain bishops to assist in the deliberations which took place. Of their names we are ignorant, but Wilfrid was not one of them. The omission was not a fortuitous one. Theodore was too astute a man to act thus without a reason ; and the reason is not far to seek. He well knew that Wilfrid would offer a strenuous resistance to the project he meditated, and he acted on that assumption. Three bishops were consecrated, two for Bernicia and Deira, and one for Lindsey, which had shortly before been regained for Northumbria by Ecgfrid. Their names were Bosa, a monk of Whitby ; Eata, the abbot of Lindisfarne ; and Eadhed. The consecration was performed by Theodore alone.

It was unquestionably a high-handed act, and one which, however admirable the policy which sought to multiply the spheres of diocesan supervision, it is impossible to justify. The consecration of the three bishops took place in the basilica of York. Wilfrid was absent at the time, but soon heard what had been

going on, and quickly appeared before the King and the Archbishop to demand their reasons for taking such a step without his privity and concurrence. Their answer was abrupt enough. "We allege nought against thee," said they, "but our act is irrevocable." Wilfrid at once announced his determination of submitting the matter to the judgment of the Apostolic see. It was an announcement which was received with shouts of contemptuous derision on the part of the courtiers and followers of Ecgfrid and Theodore.

But Wilfrid was not one to be turned from his purpose by either opposition or ridicule, and he was determined to make his appeal in person. He set forth to Rome. It was thought that he would go through France, and a scheme was devised by his enemies for entrapping him as he passed through the dominions of the Frankish king of Neustria. But it failed. Wilfrid had sailed to Friesland, where he was honourably received by Adalgis, the Frisian king, and remained long enough to sow the first seeds of Christianity in the country which was afterwards the scene of the labours of the saintly Boniface.

About the middle of 679 he arrived in Rome. Agatho was now pope. He had already received Theodore's version of the story. Wilfrid placed his written statement in the pope's own hands. A council was held, before which were laid the memorial and counter-memorial. The decision of the council was that Wilfrid should be reinstated in his original diocese, and the newly-promoted bishops expelled. He was then to summon a council at

York, which was to be associated with him in the choice of assistant bishops with whom he could live peaceably, and who were to receive consecration at the hands of Theodore. The policy of the latter as to the partition of the diocese was thus admitted to be sound, but it was not to be carried out by his own autocratic authority.

During Wilfrid's absence Bosa ruled over the diocese of York, which was recognised under Theodore's subdivision as being commensurate with the province of Deira. Besides Eata and Eadhed, whose consecration has already been mentioned, Theodore added two more bishops—Tunbert, abbot of Gilling, whom he placed at Hexham, Eata remaining altogether at Lindisfarne—and Trumwine, who, as bishop of Abercorn, had the oversight of the Picts, who at that time were subject to the supremacy of Northumbria. Eadhed, who was obliged to retire from Lindsey when its possession was regained by Ethelred, was made bishop of Ripon.

In 680 Wilfrid returned to Northumbria, bringing the decree which had been made by the Apostolic see. It bore the "bullæ" and the seals attached to it, which were marks of its authenticity. He presented himself before Ecgfrid and showed him the document. A "witan" was convened, and Wilfrid laid it in due form before the assembly, and it was read in their presence. But it was received with every mark of contumely, some even suggesting that bribery had been employed to procure it. The issue of the "witan" was that Wilfrid was thrown into prison by command of the king and his council, the intruding

bishops, as he regarded them, being consenting parties. Everything was taken from him except the clothes which he wore. The case in which he had brought relics of saints from Rome was seized upon by the queen Ermenburga, who carried it about with her as a talisman. None of his friends were permitted to visit him in his prison cell, and in this captivity he remained for nine months. But he never lost heart. In a dark and gloomy dungeon into which the sun rarely shone, and where no artificial light was permitted him, he chanted his Psalter with unfailing regularity. Ecgfrid tried in vain to bring him to submission. He promised to reinstate him as bishop of a portion, at least, of the diocese he had heretofore ruled, and added other offers, if only he would repudiate the authority of the decree which he had brought from Rome. His only answer was that sooner than do that he would lay his head upon the block and let the headsman do his office. Soon afterwards, however, Ermenburga was taken seriously ill at Coldingham, where Ebba, the aunt of Ecgfrid, was abbess. Ebba worked upon her nephew's fears, persuading him that if he desired his wife's life to be spared he must set Wilfrid at liberty. This was done. His reliquary was likewise restored. Wilfrid regained his freedom and the queen her health. But he was banished from Northumbria and passed over into Mercia.

[A.D. 680.] The year which witnessed this untoward ending of Wilfrid's first appeal to Rome is memorable also for the death of one of his most strenuous opponents. Hilda, the great abbess of Whitby, who for

long years had exercised an influence of the most marvellous kind over both princes and ecclesiastics, passed away in the month of November, 680. She was a woman of singular gifts, large-hearted, wise and prudent, uniting, to the tenderness of her own sex, a strength and tenacity of purpose and a capacity for rule which have perhaps rarely been equalled by the most powerful intellect of the other. She was consulted perpetually by kings and princes in matters of all kinds which demanded wise and prudent counsel, and with a loving unanimity of reverential affection the appellation of "The Mother," *par excellence*, was, by common consent, accorded to her. The house over which she presided, and of which she was the foundress, was a double community of monks and nuns. Under her wise rule none of those abuses crept in which, as we learn from Bede, were alleged against Coldingham. The study of Holy Scripture and the practice of every good word and work were carefully and constantly inculcated upon the monks whom she governed, so that bishops sought for clergy amongst those who had been under her care and guidance, and no fewer than five of those whom she had trained became bishops in the Church of God. Bosa was one. The others were Ælla, of Dorchester; Oftfor, of Worcester; John, of Hexham; and Wilfrid, second of the name, of York.

There was another inmate of Hilda's monastery whose name must not pass unnoticed, for he holds a place of unique distinction. It is that of Cædmon, "the father of English poetry." He was a herdman in the neighbourhood, undistinguished except for his

awkward shyness when asked by his fellows to sing in his turn one of the rude ballads with which they enlivened their festive gatherings. On one occasion, when urged to do so, he rushed away, ashamed of his shortcomings. He laid him down to sleep alongside the cattle he tended, and dreamed a dream. Some one stood by, called him by his name, and bade him sing. "I cannot," was his reply ; "I left my companions for that very reason." "But I call upon thee to sing to me, and I will take no denial," said his visitor. "What shall I sing, then?" asked Cædmon. "Let thy song be of the beginning of all created things," was the answer. And straightway a hymn of praise seemed to flow from his lips, and he glorified the Maker of all. The words which he sang in his dream clung to his memory when he awoke, and he told of the "gift he had received." "The Mother" heard of it. By her orders a passage of Holy Writ was read to him and he was bidden to versify it. He obeyed, and so perfectly was his task fulfilled that Hilda urged him to join her community, and bade him be instructed in all the wondrous histories contained in the Divine Word. He was an apt learner, a humble and docile scholar. And no long time passed by ere his teachers listened with rapt attention and silent wonder to the outflow of his wondrous gift, as he sang of the wonders of Creation, the formation of man by an Almighty Hand, the successive histories of the Patriarchal times, the leading of Israel out of Egypt, and the entrance of the Chosen People into the land of Promise. The Gospel record furnished also its mighty theme,—the Incarnation of the Lord

Jesus, His Passion, His Glorious Resurrection and Ascension, the coming of the Spirit of promise, and the teaching of the Holy Apostles. And a thrill of awe went through his hearers when he described the day of doom, the horrors of the outer darkness, and the brightness and glory of the heavenly City.

A metrical paraphrase, under the name of Cædmon, is extant. But it is not wholly his composition, though portions of it may be accepted as his genuine work. The precise date of Cædmon's death is not given by Bede, but he gives a singularly beautiful account of the simple and tranquil end of the poet-monk of Whitby.

CHAPTER VI.

[A.D. 681.] We must now return to Wilfrid. As already mentioned, he sought an asylum in Mercia, when banished from the dominions of the Northumbrian king. This was in the early part of 681. But he was soon compelled to leave. Ethelred, the Mercian king, had married the sister of Ecgfrid, and Wilfrid was hastily expelled from his dominions. Nor was he more fortunate in the next haven of refuge to which he betook himself. He went into Wessex, but the animosity of Ermenburga pursued him thither. Her sister was the wife of Kentwin, the ruler of the West Saxons, and the influence of Ecgfrid's queen was exerted to drive him from this asylum also. He now went into Sussex. Ethelwalch, the king of that small and insignificant state, had become a Christian. His queen was of the same faith. Ethelwalch received him honourably, and assured him of safety and protection. Christianity had hitherto made no progress in Sussex. Its king seemed to have failed to impress his subjects with his own faith. All, apparently, that he had done was to bring half a dozen Scotie or Irish monks, with a priest named Dicul at their head, into his dominions. They founded a small monastery at Bosham, near Chichester, but made no way amongst the dull and stolid inhabitants. Wilfrid now came amongst them.

His character ever shone brightest in adversity, and as in Friesland, so now in Sussex, he applied all the energy of his nature to civilise, humanise, and finally to evangelise this rude and barbarous people. He taught them the art of fishing in the sea, of which they were utterly ignorant. He showed them, when worn out and perishing by a famine, how food could thus be procured for their support. The service which he thus rendered won their gratitude and secured their love, and they then listened to the instruction which he sought to impart in higher things. The seed fell at last upon soil which bore fruit, and Sussex became evangelised by his patient and pious labour. Ethelwalch gave him land at Selsey. Two hundred and fifty serfs were attached to this grant, *adscripti glebæ*, and passed as chattels into Wilfrid's hands. He recognised the great Christian principle that slavery is inconsistent with the spirit of Christ's gospel. He gave them all their freedom, and he gave them a yet higher gift,—he instructed them in the faith of Christ, and brought them to Holy Baptism. A minster arose on the land thus granted him, and Wilfrid became the first bishop of the South Saxons. For five years, says Bede, he discharged every function of his episcopal office amongst them, deservedly venerated and honoured by all.

In 684, we find a marked instance of the persistent manner in which Wilfrid's claims were ignored in Northumbria. Tunbert, the bishop of Hexham, was deposed by Theodore, and a synod, partly ecclesiastic and partly lay, was convened by the latter to elect a

successor. The choice of the assembly fell upon Cuthbert, then living as a hermit on the island of Farne. He refused to leave his cell, but yielded a reluctant assent at last to the entreaties of Ecgfrid, Trumwin, bishop of Abercorn, and others. On Easter Day, 685, Cuthbert was consecrated bishop in the Minster of York by Theodore and six other bishops. It is clear that all this time Theodore was exercising undisputed power as Primate of All England, and neither Cuthbert nor any other bishop said a word in favour of Wilfrid's claims.

Cuthbert was allowed to remain at Lindisfarne. Eata went to Hexham, and Cuthbert remained as bishop in the home he loved and the place where he had long been prior. The king made him large gifts; amongst others the village of Crayke, as a halting-place on his journeys to and from York, the city of Carlisle, and the territory of Cartmel in Lancashire.

A great calamity for Northumbria was now impending. Deaf to all remonstrances, Ecgfrid determined upon undertaking a campaign against the Picts. They owned his supremacy, but he was bent upon bringing them into actual subjection. It was a fatal ambition. Ecgfrid and his army saw their wily foes retreat before them, not daring, as it seemed, to risk a conflict. It was to lure them to their destruction. They were drawn into a mountain gorge at Nechtansmere; the Picts turned round and faced them; Ecgfrid was slain with almost all his host, scarcely one escaping to bring the news to Carlisle, where Ermenburga, attended by Cuthbert,

was anxiously awaiting tidings. She ended her days as the inmate of a monastery.

This battle, fought in May, 685, struck a blow at the greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom. From henceforth the Tweed instead of the Forth was its northern boundary. Bishop Trumwin and his monks, and the nuns who had established themselves in Pictland, were obliged to flee and abandon their work, Trumwin taking refuge in the monastery of Whitby.

Ecgfrid was succeeded by his illegitimate brother Aldfrid, whose life had been passed in retirement and study, a man, says Bede, who was "most learned in the Scriptures, the first of our literary kings; a man of practical vigour, and well able to 'restore, though within narrower limits, the humble state of the realm.'"¹

About this time Wilfrid had become acquainted with Cadwalla, who, like himself, was living as a fugitive in the country of the South Saxons. Cadwalla was a descendant of the West Saxon royal house, and had been banished from Wessex through some jealous feeling on the part of Kentwin the king, or of some of his chief men. On Kentwin's death in 685, he succeeded to the throne, and soon after made an attack upon Sussex. Ethelwalch fell. A campaign against Kent followed, and Cadwalla shortly afterwards made a descent upon the Isle of Wight. This had formerly belonged to Wessex, but had been acquired by Wulfhere, who gave it to

¹ Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 338.

Ethelwalch. It was still Pagan, and though Cadwalla, its invader, was still unbaptised, he seems to have gained some dim and indistinct feeling of reverence for the True God from his intercourse with Wilfrid. He vowed to devote to that God, if he gained possession of the isle, one fourth part of its land, and of the booty which would be the conqueror's prey. Three hundred hydes of land were accordingly made over to Wilfrid, who assigned them to certain ecclesiastics whom he united with himself in the work of evangelising this outlying abode of heathendom. The inhabitants were converted, and thus it came that by Wilfrid's means the religion of Christ became the outward profession, at all events, of the inhabitants of the whole of England.

It is impossible to suppose that Theodore was either ignorant of, or indifferent to the missionary work which Wilfrid had accomplished amongst the barbarous and unintelligent population of Sussex and the Isle of Wight. Perchance he may at times have had some regretful feeling for the abrupt and arbitrary manner in which he parcelled out the diocese over which Wilfrid ruled without asking his concurrence or seeking for his counsel.

Theodore, who was now well nigh ninety years of age, expressed a desire that Wilfrid should visit him in London, and that Erconwald should be present at the meeting. Wilfrid obeyed the summons. The aged Archbishop acknowledged that he had been a consenting party to the spoliation which Wilfrid had suffered, and expressed his sorrow that he should have been subjected to so long an exile. If Eddi's

was anxiously awaiting tidings. She ended her days as the inmate of a monastery.

This battle, fought in May, 685, struck a blow at the greatness of the Northumbrian kingdom. From henceforth the Tweed instead of the Forth was its northern boundary. Bishop Trumwin and his monks, and the nuns who had established themselves in Pictland, were obliged to flee and abandon their work, Trumwin taking refuge in the monastery of Whitby.

Ecgrid was succeeded by his illegitimate brother Aldfrid, whose life had been passed in retirement and study, a man, says Bede, who was "most learned in the Scriptures, the first of our literary kings; a man of practical vigour, and well able to 'restore, though within narrower limits, the humble state of the realm.'"¹

About this time Wilfrid had become acquainted with Cadwalla, who, like himself, was living as a fugitive in the country of the South Saxons. Cadwalla was a descendant of the West Saxon royal house, and had been banished from Wessex through some jealous feeling on the part of Kentwin the king, or of some of his chief men. On Kentwin's death in 685, he succeeded to the throne, and soon after made an attack upon Sussex. Ethelwalch fell. A campaign against Kent followed, and Cadwalla shortly afterwards made a descent upon the Isle of Wight. This had formerly belonged to Wessex, but had been acquired by Wulfhere, who gave it to

¹ Bright's "Early English Church History," p. 338.

Ethelwalch. It was still Pagan, and though Cadwalla, its invader, was still unbaptised, he seems to have gained some dim and indistinct feeling of reverence for the True God from his intercourse with Wilfrid. He vowed to devote to that God, if he gained possession of the isle, one fourth part of its land, and of the booty which would be the conqueror's prey. Three hundred hydes of land were accordingly made over to Wilfrid, who assigned them to certain ecclesiastics whom he united with himself in the work of evangelising this outlying abode of heathendom. The inhabitants were converted, and thus it came that by Wilfrid's means the religion of Christ became the outward profession, at all events, of the inhabitants of the whole of England.

It is impossible to suppose that Theodore was either ignorant of, or indifferent to the missionary work which Wilfrid had accomplished amongst the barbarous and unintelligent population of Sussex and the Isle of Wight. Perchance he may at times have had some regretful feeling for the abrupt and arbitrary manner in which he parcelled out the diocese over which Wilfrid ruled without asking his concurrence or seeking for his counsel.

Theodore, who was now well nigh ninety years of age, expressed a desire that Wilfrid should visit him in London, and that Erconwald should be present at the meeting. Wilfrid obeyed the summons. The aged Archbishop acknowledged that he had been a consenting party to the spoliation which Wilfrid had suffered, and expressed his sorrow that he should have been subjected to so long an exile. If Eddi's

statements are correct, he further expressed a desire that he might succeed to his own archiepiscopal chair. At Wilfrid's request, Theodore wrote to Aldfrid, to the abbess Elfleda, Hilda's successor at Whitby, and to Ethelred, the Mercian king, entreating them to receive him kindly, reminding them that he had long been deprived of his possessions, and had laboured long amongst the heathen. Theodore's wishes were acceded to. Ethelred gave back to him the monasteries and property which he had held in Mercia, and Aldfrid received him at his court.

[A.D. 686.] To Northumbria Wilfrid once more returned, in the autumn, probably, of 686, but not, as before, to be the ruler of a diocese commensurate with the kingdom. Cuthbert was bishop of Lindisfarne, which was a direct contravention of the decree made by Pope Agatho and his synod. Hexham was vacant by the death of Eata, Bosa was at York, and Eadhed at Ripon. Aldfrid at once, as it seems, put Wilfrid in possession of the monastery of Hexham. After the lapse of a little time Bosa retired from York and Eadhed from Ripon, when Wilfrid again became bishop of his former diocese with the exception of the see of Lindisfarne. He does not seem to have wished to disturb this arrangement, nor yet that by which Hexham was recognised as a separate see. In 687, on the 25th August, a holy man, known and revered centuries afterwards as St. John of Beverley, was consecrated bishop of that see. After the death of Cuthbert, on the 20th March, 687, the see of Lindisfarne was administered by Wilfrid himself for a twelvemonth. At the expiration of that time Eadbert

was consecrated as its bishop. It was a practical admission on Wilfrid's part of the need there was of a subdivision of his enormous diocese.

For some time things went on smoothly, but before the expiration of five years from Wilfrid's return clouds gathered in the ecclesiastical horizon of Northumbria. The storm soon broke. Wilfrid loved power, and he ill brooked any curtailment of privileges which he had once enjoyed. Dissensions arose between him and Aldfrid. They had their origin from his own ambitious temper. He claimed to be reinstated in the possession of certain lands which had formerly been given to the Church of St. Peter, and of which he had been unjustly deprived. He regarded with strong aversion the permanent establishment of a bishop of Ripon, and above all he resisted the attempt which was made to enforce his compliance with the decrees of Theodore, those, namely, which provided for the partition of the great diocese of Northumbria. Of the details of his quarrel with Aldfrid we are ignorant. Bede tells us nothing, and Eddi gives no particulars. All we are told by the latter is that Wilfrid would assent to none of Aldfrid's arrangements, and betook himself to Ethelred, king of Mercia, who, "out of reverence for the Apostolic see, received him with all possible honour."

In Mercia he acted as a bishop, and administered the see of Leicester. One of his episcopal acts was the consecration of Swidbert for the Frisian mission.

Eleven years passed over and found him still in Mercia. Bosa appears to have been reinstated in the episcopal chair of York. But Wilfrid evidently

looked forward towards a future prosecution of what he deemed his rightful claims. He sought recognition of them from Pope Sergius, who confirmed the decree of his predecessor.

At the beginning of the eighth century so strong a feeling appears to have sprung up from one cause or another as to Wilfrid's rights, that Aldfrid determined upon summoning a synod of the whole Church. It met in 702, at a place called Ouestrefelda, which may most probably be identified with Austerfield, near Bawtry. Archbishop Bertwald, the successor of Theodore, who died in 690, was present. Wilfrid was invited, and obeyed the summons. His chief opponents were the bishops of the Northumbrian kingdom. Much altercation took place, but it soon resolved itself into the question whether he would abide by the decrees and statutes laid down by Theodore; in other words, whether he would recognise the partition of his diocese as arranged by that prelate. Wilfrid objected against this the decrees of Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius. An effort was made to induce him to abide by the decision of Bertwald, who presided over the council. After some hesitation he assented, provided it were in accordance with the decrees of the Apostolic see. This stirred up fierce dissension. It was then proposed that he should "have his monastery of St. Peter at Ripon, with all that pertained to it,—but on this condition, that he should not, without the king's leave, go beyond the precincts of his monastery, nor perform any episcopal act." This attempt to make him a consenting party to his own deprivation kindled in him a yet fiercer flame of

fiery indignation. With kindling eye and ringing voice he recounted all that he had done for the cause of the Church in Northumbria,—how he had settled the questions of the Paschal feast and the tonsure,—how he had formed in stately order the Church's service of song, her Responsories and Antiphons,—how he had regulated the monastic houses according to the rule of St. Benedict, in a manner heretofore unknown. And he concluded by a bold and defiant announcement that he would again submit his cause to the judgment of the Apostolic see. "Of his noble apostolic labours," says Dean Milman, "his conversion of the heathen, his cultivation of arts and letters, his stately buildings, his monasteries, he said nothing."¹

The mention of an appeal to Rome deeply stirred the ire of the king, who went so far as to talk of making him submit by force of arms. But wiser counsels prevailed. The bishops reminded him that Wilfrid had a safe conduct to come to the council. So he was permitted to depart, and the council ended. But so intense was the antagonistic feeling in Northumbria, that a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him and all his adherents and friends.

Ethelred received Wilfrid kindly on his return into Mercia, and promised that he would watchfully guard all his possessions in that kingdom until he should return from Rome. His friends were encouraged and comforted by a letter addressed to them by the great

¹ "Latin Christianity," ii. p. 269.

scholar, the wise and holy Aldhelm of Malmesbury. They were to cling lovingly to him. The appeal was not in vain. Prayer was solemnly offered for him in all the communities over which he had ruled. Several accompanied him to Rome, the most eminent of whom was Acca, so long associated in after years with the church of Hexham.

[A.D. 704.] To Rome then, for the third time, Wilfrid proceeded. The long and weary journey was made on foot. He arrived there early in 704, and presented a memorial to the pope, John VI. In this he recounted what had heretofore taken place, and prayed that the apostolic see would charge Ethelred to continue protection to his monasteries in Mercia, and that Aldfrid might at the least interpose no obstacle to his having Ripon and Hexham, even though the see of York should be otherwise disposed of. And he promised all fitting subjection to Bertwald, providing always that on the archbishop's part the treatment he received was in conformity with the papal decrees. A counter memorial was handed in on the part of Bertwald. The matters in dispute were argued at prodigious length. Seventy sittings of the council took place, occupying four months. Its final decision exonerated Wilfrid from all blame, and affirmed the decrees of Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius. The pope wrote to Ethelred and Aldfrid, calling their attention to these decrees, but not absolutely demanding the reinstatement of Wilfrid. Bertwald and Wilfrid were to meet each other in a synod called by the former, to which Bosa and John were to be summoned. If this synod failed

in bringing matters to an amicable conclusion, another and larger council would be summoned at Rome to effect a settlement. It is clear that the pope was unwilling to alienate Aldfrid by too urgent a demand of obedience to the decrees of Rome. His policy was to gain time by directing the dispute to be settled, if it might be, on English ground. It was obvious enough to him that the strongest repugnance existed in England to the recognition of any absolute authority as vested in the see of Rome.

Wilfrid's own wish was to have an end of contention and to end his days *ad limina apostolorum*. But he was overruled, and set forth on his homeward journey. Sickness attacked him on the way, and he lay for some days at Meaux in a death-like stupor, watched over by the faithful Acca. On awakening from it he told of a dream or vision he had had of St. Michael, and how the great archangel had promised him four more years of life. He gathered strength and set forward on his way, landed in Kent and proceeded to Mercia, having first sent messengers to Bertwald, who seemed well disposed to cultivate a friendly feeling, and promised to mitigate the harshness of the decisions which had been passed in the synod over which he had presided.

On arriving in Mercia he found Ethelred in monastic garb, ruling the monastery of Bardney as abbot, instead of Mercia as king. He listened to the pope's letter with the utmost reverence, as did his nephew and successor Kenred. The decree and the letter addressed to Aldfrid by the pope were sent to that prince, who absolutely refused to accord anything to

Wilfrid, or to alter any arrangement in deference to "alleged writings from the apostolic see."

Aldfrid died at Driffield on the 14th December, 705, regretting, it was said, on his death bed, the adverse part he had taken as regarded Wilfrid, and enjoining his successor Eadwulf to accept the pope's decree. Eadwulf exercised his sovereignty but a few weeks, long enough, however, to treat Wilfrid with great contumely. He was succeeded by Osred, a son of Aldfrid, a boy of eight years of age, whose advisers summoned another council, held on the banks of the Nidd, near Knaresburgh, to settle, if possible, the cause of Wilfrid. It was attended by Archbishop Bertwald, the Bishops Bosa, John, and Eadfrid, with other ecclesiastics, and the abbess Elfleda. Bertwald read the papal letters; and entered at great length into the matter. Elfleda spoke strongly of Aldfrid's dying wishes. After much conference and the expression of some repugnance on the part of the three Northumbrian bishops, a compromise was arrived at. The conclusion fell far short of Wilfrid's full claims. The chair of York was not to be his. His monasteries and territories in Northumbria and Mercia were restored, and he was to have the see of Hexham and his monastery at Ripon. The council ended by a celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and a mutual interchange of the kiss of peace. Its termination could not be said to be a triumph for the Apostolic see, whose decrees were certainly, in effect, unacknowledged. Bosa's death took place very shortly after this council, when John succeeded to the see of York.

Wilfrid's latter years were principally passed at Hexham, as ruler of the monastery and bishop, for the second time, of that diocese, but his beloved Ripon was often visited. The end was, however, nigh at hand; sickness and infirmity began to press upon him, and he made the most careful disposition of his earthly possessions, one third of which was allotted to his monasteries of Ripon and Hexham. In 709 he journeyed into Mercia "to inspect and set in order the monasteries within that kingdom." He fell sick at Oundle, in the monastic house he had himself established there, and passed away on the 12th October in that year, in the 76th year of his age.

Wilfrid is one of those great characters which meet us from time to time in the records of the past, whose words and actions are exalted by some writers to almost superhuman excellence, whilst by others they are held up to something little short of detestation. The latter is, perhaps, the highest tribute to their greatness. There must have been wonderful force of character about a man, when vehement protests against his policy, his temper, his demeanour, are uttered centuries after he has been removed from this world. It is so with Wilfrid. He is described by one historian as "the haughtiest and most luxurious prelate of his age," and he is anathematised by many more with an unreasoning hatred as the man of all others to whom is due the introduction into England of the supremacy of the pope of Rome. It is true that he was the first who appealed to Rome, and that of course is enough for many. They seek not for reasons, they inquire not into circumstances,

but settle it at once as a thing to be utterly condemned, incapable of defence or extenuation. Difficult though it must always be to throw ourselves into the position of those who lived in an age far remote from our own, with different surroundings, different habits of thought, different sources of information, yet, if we seek to form fair and dispassionate views, the endeavour must be made to do so. The points in dispute between Wilfrid and Colman, and their respective adherents, as they appear on the surface, seem now very trivial. But the real question resolved itself into this,—whether there was any central authority which could moderate between two contending parties, and give a final decision as to their conflicting opinions or claims. The Columban Church, with all its holiness, with all its self-denial, with all its missionary zeal, had, in the proper sense of the word, no organic unity. Camps and out-posts, so to speak, were planted, as occasion seemed to require, in different parts of the country, to do battle with heathendom, and a noble battle did they fight. But there was little cohesion amongst these forces, their sphere of observation was narrow and contracted, their plan of operations under no central government. Wilfrid unquestionably saw these deficiencies. How were they to be met? He had been at Rome. He had studied there; he had witnessed the working of a great and organized polity; he had seen the advantages of wider culture, of greater range of studies, of all the manifold and refining influences of music and painting, and architectural science and skill. In Rome he found all these things. To Rome the con-

version of Northumbria was undoubtedly due. To Rome, therefore, he conscientiously believed reference should be made, as to a venerated mother, in all doubtful cases and all disputed points. Who shall blame him? That he had grave faults of temper and disposition is indubitable. He was tenacious and unyielding, arrogant, perchance, at times, and hot-tempered; for great though he were, he yet was mortal. We may admit all these faults of character; but surely much may be condoned when we watch the employments of his different periods of exile, his earnest zeal for the conversion of the simple-hearted Frisians and the rude and unimpressible South Saxons, and his manumission of the bondsmen at Selsey. Much may be forgiven to the man who thought no toil too great if he could carry the ministrations of religion throughout his vast diocese, and provide for their permanent exercise amongst its inhabitants. His faults were those of an ardent, eager, and impetuous temperament, conscious of its own rectitude of purpose, confident in its own powers. His excellencies were the fruit of a life of prayer, and of a stern self-discipline.

CHAPTER VII.

FOR nine years after Wilfrid's death John occupied the episcopal chair of York. By his name of St. John of Beverley he is even yet remembered as one of the best and holiest of Yorkshire's sons. He is said to have been born of honourable parentage at Harpham, in the East Riding of that county. In his youth he was a pupil of Archbishop Theodore, and was afterwards one of Hilda's monks at Whitby, "which," as Fuller quaintly says, "soundeth something to her honour and nothing to his disgrace, seeing eloquent Apollos himself learned the primer of his Christianity partly from Priscilla." He was a diligent student and expounder of Holy Scripture, which he preached to the people with an eloquence and earnestness which rivetted their attention, accompanied as it was by the example of a pure and spotless life. He had many pupils. Bede was one of them, and he afterwards received ordination at the hands of his old master, of whom he speaks in terms of the deepest veneration.

John presided over Hexham about eighteen years, but little is known of his work there. His name is most especially associated with Beverley, where he became the owner of land and made additions to a small church already standing in Deira-

wood, in connection with which he founded a monastery. This little sanctuary was on the site of "an earlier settlement marked by 'four stones,' from which we infer that it was the British *Pedwarllech* and Greek *Petouaria*, chief city of *Parisoi*, as it still is of the East Riding. From *Pedwarllech* we have *Beverlac*, *Beverley*." His good works in this part of the diocese, and doubtless in others also, were furthered by the help of Christian laity. Bede tells us of his dedicating a church on the territory of an earl named Puch, two miles from *Beverley*; and of another which was founded by Earl Addi in the same neighbourhood—indications, slight, but not without significance, of the growth of a parochial system. Lands at North Burton, Walkington, and other places, were given to his monastery, and the first stones laid, so to speak, of a great and magnificent ecclesiastical foundation. In his declining years he exchanged the cares and labours of the episcopate for the retirement of the house he had founded in *Deira-wood*. In 718 he resigned his see in favour of Wilfrid, second of the name, whom he nominated as his successor. Wilfrid had been one of his pupils, and had been for some time "the *vice-dominus* or *abbas* of the monastery at York, the bishop himself being the *dominus* or *abbas*." John passed three peaceful years in the quiet retreat of his monastery at *Beverlac*, where he ended a pure and holy life on the 7th May, 721. He was canonised in 1037 by Pope Benedict IX.

Wilfrid II. sat in the chair of York from 718 until 732. He was a munificent bishop, but is not otherwise remarkable except for having sanctioned a charge

ignorantly made against Bede for some supposed heretical teaching in his book "*De Sex Ætatibus Mundi*." He resigned his see in 732, and retired into some monastery to end his days. He died about 745.

The successor of Wilfrid II. was a man of great eminence, Egbert, the son of Eata, and a scion of the royal house of Northumbria. He was appointed by Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, the sovereign to whom Bede dedicated his ecclesiastical history. When Egbert succeeded as Bishop of York, Bede's life was drawing to its close; but advancing years had not weakened his mental powers, and he addressed a long and deeply interesting letter to the newly consecrated bishop. It is clear from this epistle that the holy zeal of earlier days had waxed cold or lukewarm, and that corruptions existed in the Church which filled the mind of the writer with gloomy forebodings as to the Church's future, if no remedies were applied by the watchful care of her chief ministers. The gifts which a pious liberality had poured into the Church's treasury, and which had been administered for that Church's weal with a scrupulous fidelity by those in whose care they first were placed, now seemed to offer only temptations to cupidity, and to afford means for self-indulgence. Luxury, and worse than luxury, prevailed within walls which had been erected to be the homes of devotion and self-denial. Grants of land, moreover, were now not uncommonly obtained by men of rank for the foundation of monastic houses. The land thus became free from secular claims and burdens, and the house was made a resi-

dence for the founder and his people with naught of religion about it but the name. He warned Egbert of these manifold abuses, which loudly demanded repression and reformation by a strong and determined hand ; that hand, it is obvious, being the hand of the bishop of the diocese, for the monasteries at that time were under no papal exemptions. Bede offered also many wise and holy counsels. Personal holiness in the teacher was to illustrate the lessons which he gave. Study and meditation were to occupy hours too often wasted in idle and purposeless talk. The number of priests was to be augmented, in order that the villages might not lack needful teaching and the due administration of the Church's sacraments. The Creed and the Lord's Prayer were to be translated into their own mother tongue for the use of the unlearned. He advocated also an extension of the episcopate. He reminded Egbert of the plan laid down long before by the far-seeing Gregory, that the northern provinces should have no fewer than twelve bishops to watch over the flocks which lay scattered over the vast territory ; and he urged him to obtain the pall, and endeavour, with the help of Ceonwulf the king, to carry out this much needed measure of reform.

The words of Bede were not written in vain. Egbert applied for the pall, which was given him in 735 by Pope Gregory III. He became primate of the Northern Province, and all the bishops within its limits were under him as his suffragans. He was no unworthy ruler. He was a laborious student, and wrote several works which were highly estimated, especially a Pontifical, or book containing the offices

which a bishop only could perform. Besides the offices of ordination, &c., it contains a series of benedictions. Some of these are very interesting, as showing how religion was brought to bear upon the things of common life. God's blessing was sought upon medicine about to be taken, or healing unguent about to be applied for the benefit of either man or beast ; upon the bread which was about to be eaten, and upon the wine before it was drank. There is a benediction also for hallowing vessels of heathen workmanship which had been turned up by the plough or the spade. Egbert's other works relate mostly to matters of discipline, founded to some extent on the writings of Archbishop Theodore. All his works, says Raine, "seem to pre-suppose the existence of a regular clerical organisation, and as he occupied the throne of Paulinus with such commanding influence for above thirty years, he would have time enough to see the systems in full play. . . . He was, in all probability, the first introducer of the parochial system into the North."¹ This is perhaps a thing incapable of absolute proof, though it may fairly be inferred. But there can be little doubt respecting one great work, the foundation of the school of York, and the library attached to it, which became renowned, not in England alone, but throughout Europe also. Youths were sent from all parts to carry on their studies under Egbert's guidance. He was assisted by his kinsman Albert, who was afterwards his successor in the see. Amongst their pupils was one whose name must ever be honoured as one

¹ "Fasti Ebor.," i. p. 96.

of the foremost scholars of his days, the learned and accomplished Alcuin, who speaks in glowing terms in a poem written in after years, "De Pontificibus &c. Ecclesiæ Eboracensis," of Egbert's gracious manner, of his sedulous discharge of every holy office, of his loving adornment of the great mother Church of his diocese, and his reverential care for the stately services which were solemnised within its walls. "He is said to have been the first prelate who possessed a mint at York." His efforts in all good works were not a little facilitated by the accession of his brother Eadbert in 738 to the throne of Northumbria. Egbert resigned the see in 757, and ended his days in the quiet haven of a monastic retreat on the 19th Nov., 766.

He was succeeded by Albert, "in compliance," we are told, "with the wishes of the people." He ably carried on the work which had so long prospered in his predecessor's hands. He was consecrated on the 24th April, 767, and received the pall from Pope Adrian in 773. He retained the services of the illustrious Alcuin as his coadjutor in the noble work of the great school which had already gained so wide a reputation. Alcuin was appointed by the archbishop as one of the canons of the Minster, and as the *magister scholarum*.

As this is the first mention we have of the canons of the Church of York, a few words may be said respecting the commencement of a foundation which has survived with unbroken continuity down to our own day.

The Minster of York had no monastic body

belonging to it, the clergy of that church being canons secular, as being under no monastic rule. Secular canons appear to have owed their origin to Chrodigang, bishop of Metz, in the year 747. His primary idea was simply the gathering together of the clergy of that town with the view of inducing them to lead a more regular life, in the ecclesiastical sense of the word, but without being under monastic vows. They could retain their private property in addition to such income as they might receive from the church. Boys were received for education, and placed for that purpose under the care of a senior canon. Canons were allowed separate dwellings, which constituted a marked distinction between canons *secular* and canons *regular*, or monks of the different orders, who lived in common and had a common dormitory. Chrodigang's canonical rule was soon introduced into England. We find it mentioned in the 4th canon of a synod held in Northumberland in the year 787; and it is probable that Archbishop Egbert had organised a body of canons in the church of York before the termination of his long episcopate. At any rate, when Albert appointed Alcuin as one of them, it is not mentioned as a new office. Although it is somewhat anticipating the chronological sequence of events, it may conveniently be mentioned here that when Athelstan was on his way to encounter the Scots, in 936, he besought the prayers of the clergy of the church of St. Peter at York on his behalf, who are described as "men of holy life and honest conversation, then styled *Colidei*, who maintained a number of poor people, and had

withal but little whereon to live." The word *Colidei* is an inversion of *Deicola*, and has originated the term *Culdee*, which has been so long supposed to belong to the Columban monks of the sixth and seventh centuries. This is a supposition entirely destitute of authority. The name was unknown to Bede, to Eddi, and to Adamnan. It was first applied to anchorites, *Deicola* being the Latin equivalent of the term *Gode-frihte*, or God-fearing, which was the appellation commonly given to them. It afterwards appears to have been assigned to canon clerics. "Those of Canterbury we find called in a charter by king Ethelred, in 1006, *cultores clerici*, or cleric God-worshippers, the word *Dei* being evidently implied."¹ Raine says that the canons of York were called *Cul-dees* as late as the reign of Henry I. The number of canons in the Minster of York in Archbishop Albert's time appears to have been seven, who lived out of a common fund.

The school of York was carried on with indefatigable zeal under the joint government of Albert and Alcuin. The nucleus of a library had been formed by Egbert. It was very greatly augmented by the unsparing munificence and personal solicitude of these two great scholars, who shrank not from the toil of long journeys to Italy and other countries to gather up precious manuscripts to add to its stores. Alcuin enumerates with delight in his poem the names of the various authors whose writings were thus acquired.

The renovation of the Minster was one of Albert's

¹ See Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. p. 245.

works. That which Wilfrid had restored and beautified had suffered greatly from a fire, and appears to have been re-edified and probably much enlarged at this time. Alcuin describes it somewhat minutely, mentioning the grandeur of its height, the solidity of its piers and arches, the number of its aisles, the translucent beauty of its windows, and the rich adornment of its thirty altars.

Years passed on, and Albert in his turn sought to be relieved from the labour and anxiety inseparable from his various duties, which had now become a weighty burden. He appointed Eanbald, a much-loved pupil, as coadjutor bishop, *cum jure successionis*, apparently, and officiated at his consecration. He then retired to a monastic cell, where he spent two years and two months before he was called away. Ten days only before his death he came forth from it to assist in the solemn dedication of the Minster, whose renovation he had begun whilst yet archbishop. He died at York on the 8th November, 781 or 782.

The nomination of Eanbald was confirmed by his reception of the pall, which was transmitted from Rome by the hands of Alcuin, who undertook a journey thither for the purpose of obtaining it. The work of the school of York went on, and for a time it had the advantage of Alcuin's vigilant and careful superintendence. But anarchy prevailed in Northumbria, and the sanctuary at Lindisfarne was desolated by the Danes. Alcuin left York, and was gladly welcomed by Charlemagne, who was now anxious for the spread of learning in his dominions. That great potentate became himself a pupil of the great

Saxon scholar, and always treated him with the utmost consideration. Alcuin never forgot York, or the churches and monastic houses of Northumbria. He gave good advice to king and priest alike. He rebuked Ethelred, and gave wise and holy counsel to the clergy of Hexham and the monks of Lindisfarne, Wearmouth, and Jarrow, and wrote in terms of the most affectionate regard to the brethren at York. Eanbald died August 10th, 796.

Another of the same name succeeded. He had been a favourite pupil of Alcuin, who wrote many letters to him, addressing him under the name of Symeon. In one he mentions a ship-load of metal he was sending to cover the bell-turrets of the Minster. Another is full of practical suggestions for the maintenance of discipline in the diocese. Things had become somewhat lax, for it appears that the Northumbrian clergy had caused some scandal by their love of fox-hunting. He reminds the Archbishop at the same time that the shepherd was to set a wholesome example to the flock. Proof sufficient may be gathered from this letter of the grave deterioration in manners and morals which then prevailed, especially in the monastic houses, but it conveys no precise or specific information with respect to the great diocese over which Eanbald II. then presided. Incidental evidence is given of the maintenance by the Archbishop of a large body of armed retainers. The disturbed state of Northumbria probably rendered this a necessity.

Alcuin wished to have ended his days at York, but was unable to obtain Charlemagne's consent to his

return. In his later years he retired to his abbey of St. Martin at Tours. He no longer had the great sovereign and his nobles as his pupils, but the occupation of his active manhood was still the solace of his age. He had a school at Tours to the end of his life. His own countrymen, not a little to the jealousy of the Franks, swarmed about him, it was said, like so many bees, gladly encountering the toil and danger of long journeying to be under the instruction of one who had a reputation so illustrious. As a scholar he was unquestionably the most eminent of his age. Alcuin died about A.D. 810. His pupil, Eanbald II., did not long survive his old master, dying, it is said, in 812.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN tracing the history of the Northumbrian Church during the whole of the period from the arrival of Paulinus to the commencement of Egbert's episcopate, we have had the guidance of Venerable Bede, the indefatigable student, the careful chronicler of the events of his own time, and the faithful narrator of the traditions of the generation which preceded him. But for him we should have known little of the establishment and progress of Christianity in Northumbria. "The lamp of learning, trimmed by the hand of a single monastic who never passed the limits of his Northumbrian province, irradiated from the cell of Jarrow, the Saxon realm of England, with a clear and steady light; and when Bede died, History reversed her torch, and quenched it in deep night."¹ Bede died in 735. As an historian he left no successor, and the times were such as to afford little encouragement to quiet study and research. In little more than half a century after his death Lindisfarne was pillaged and burnt by the Northmen, and the defenceless inmates of the monastery promiscuously slaughtered. The Danes were constantly making incursions in different parts. In 866, during the reign of Ethelred I., they first entered East Anglia, and in the year following the 'cyules' of the invaders

¹ Surtees' "History of Durham," ii. p. 69.

were seen in the Humber, and they advanced as far as York, of which they took possession. In 869, East Anglia was completely in their power : it became a Danish Kingdom, and was the first distinct Danish settlement in England. Predatory incursions were made from time to time in different directions, the churches and monasteries being special objects of attack. In 876, Haldene entered Northumbria with his forces. This was no mere piratical descent for the sake of plunder. It was with a view to settled occupation. The inhabitants were too terror-stricken to offer any actual resistance. The invader assumed the dominion of the country, parcelled it out, and began to cultivate tracts of land within its limits which had long lain waste and untilled. We may probably date from this period the Danish names of places which are so common in many parts of the northern counties.

From the time of Eanbald's death in 812 to the end of the century, and for certainly the first two decades of the succeeding one, the ecclesiastical history of Northumbria is in utter obscurity. The names of successive Archbishops are preserved, but very little is known of them. The country must have been in a most lamentable state, and in many parts, probably, the public ministrations of religion were altogether laid aside, Christianity itself preserving but a precarious and feeble existence. The most interesting records relating to the Church of York which have been preserved occur in the letters addressed by Lupus, the Abbot of Ferrieres, to Wigmund, who became Archbishop about the year 837. They are

valuable as showing "that the communication between northern and foreign houses which existed to so great an extent in the preceding century, was still kept up. They tell us moreover that the monastery of York was under the same government that was described, sixty years before, in the writings of Alcuin, and that the famous library was still in existence, inasmuch as Lupus solicits the loan of a manuscript of Quintilian, one of the questions of St. Jerome on the Old and New Testament, with a similar work by Beda."¹

The campaigns of the Great Alfred against the Northmen, his conflicts with them, his formation of a navy to meet them on their own element, are matters of history too well known to need recapitulation here. But Northumbria was never really subjugated by him. The submission of the Danes was yielded to his son Edward the Elder, who became over-lord of the whole island, and both Scots and Welsh did homage to him. But, as events proved, the submission and the homage were more nominal than real. Edward was succeeded by his son Athelstan. Against him a league was formed by Constantine, the King of the Scots, rendered yet more formidable by the appearance of a large fleet in the Humber, in the year 937, under the command of Anlaf. On his way to encounter his foes Athelstan sought the prayers of the clergy of York, and as he passed through Beverley he made a solemn vow of the great things he would do for that church if he were

¹ "Fasti Ebor.," i. p. 112.

victorious, leaving his dagger on the altar as a token and pledge of his sincerity. The battle of Brunanburgh followed, celebrated in Scandinavian song. Athelstan gained the day, after a fierce and bloody encounter. He fulfilled his vow by munificent gifts to the Church of St. John of Beverley, and he gave many great possessions and privileges to the minsters of York and Ripon. Athelstan was sincerely attached to Christianity. In the gifts he bestowed upon the Church of Northumbria he was probably guided by Archbishop Wulstan, who is said to have owed to Athelstan his elevation to that dignity. After Athelstan's death the Archbishop took part with the Danes and joined in the efforts that were made to throw off the authority of his successor Edmund. Edred succeeded, after the murder of Edmund, in 946, and on his going into Northumbria in the following year, all the chief men, with Wulstan at their head, took solemn oaths of allegiance to him. But their oaths were little worth. A rebellion took place in 948 in which the Archbishop was deeply implicated, and Eric, the son of Harold Blaatand King of Denmark, was set up as their king. Edred brought his forces into Northumbria. Much devastation took place, the monastery of Ripon, amongst others, being destroyed. When the rebellion was quelled, Wulstan was deposed and thrown into prison, a thing "worth noting, because it shows that, even with Abbot Dunstan at the head of affairs, a churchman was as much subject to the law as anybody else."¹ He

¹ Freeman's "Old English History," p. 165.

was, however, soon released, and though not allowed to go back to York, was permitted to exercise the office of a Bishop at Dorchester.

The fusion of the Northmen with the population of Northumbria appears by this time to have taken place. It was effected apparently by a sort of natural process. When the Angles made their descent upon the shores of Britain, their onset was directed against a people of a different race to themselves, and no assimilation ever took place. But in the case of the Northmen it was different. Their race was the same: "in tongue, in manner, in institutions, there was little to distinguish them from the men amongst whom they dwelt." And ere long they had a common Christendom. At this time Christianity must have prevailed to a considerable extent amongst the Scandinavian settlers. We find prelates of Danish blood occupying the respective sees of Canterbury and York, Odo being Archbishop of the one, Oskytel of the other. Of Oskytel's work at York we know little. His kinsman Oswald received the pallium at the hands of Pope John XIII. in 972. He had been a most active and energetic prelate in the diocese of Worcester, and Dunstan, who had now succeeded Odo in the chair of St. Augustine, urgently pressed upon him the acceptance of the see of York. He retained also the see of Worcester. A biographer of the Archbishop gives an interesting picture of the state of York at the time. He describes the walls and very many of the buildings as being in a state of much disrepair, the result doubtless of the assaults it had from

time to time undergone. But it was full of Danish merchants. The throng and bustle of trade were in full activity, and it was clearly becoming a great seat of commerce, with an adult population of thirty thousand. "All this seems to show that the great mischief which the Danes did to York has been exaggerated. They seem to have occupied the city, and not to have spoiled or destroyed it."¹ Dunstan's great reason for wishing to have Oswald as the northern primate was to have his co-operation in the plans he had so much at heart for re-modelling the monasteries and introducing the strictness of the Benedictine rule, and, above all, for enforcing the celibacy of the clergy. He wished, also, to do away with the secular canons. What Oswald was able to effect as regards these matters in Northumbria we know not. Canon Raine is of opinion that the Benedictine rule was never firmly established in the North till after the conquest. The marriage of the clergy certainly continued until after that period, as we shall hereafter see. Oswald died in 992. Two Archbishops after him also held the see of Worcester in conjunction with that of York. The most eminent of these was Wulstan II. He was a man of piety and learning, and is believed to be the author of certain homilies to which the name of Lupus Episcopus is attached. One of them contains an address to his countrymen on the Danish invasion, written in 1012, and giving "a fearful picture of the vice and lawlessness of the age." He also addressed an

¹ "Fasti Ebor.," i. p. 193.

encyclical letter to the inhabitants of his diocese, and laid down a code of rules called the Laws of the Northumbrian priests. He was the author also of two pastoral letters. He encouraged literature even in those troublous times. Haymo studied under his direction at York, and he gathered other scholars round him. The uniting of the two sees of Worcester and York was probably due to the policy of Dunstan and Oswald, and "when Northumbria was ravaged by the Danes, the possession of the southern bishopric was found to be necessary for the maintenance of the Northern primate. It was on this ground that Edward the Confessor subsequently decided in favour of their union. The Archbishop of Canterbury would not be likely to oppose it, as the primate of the North would thus be placed in the position of a suffragan to the successors of Augustine."¹

His successor, Alfric Puttoc, held no see except York. He was a great benefactor to the church of Beverley, and obtained certain privileges for it from Edward the Confessor. During his episcopate, and probably at his request, St. John of Beverley was canonized, and the translation of his relics took place with much stately ceremonial.

Kinsius, the next Archbishop, received the pallium from Pope Victor in 1055. He was also a benefactor to the church in his diocese, being the builder of a large tower at Beverley, upon which church, and also upon that at Southwell, he bestowed many costly gifts.

¹ "Fasti Ebor.," p. 132.

Kinsius died in 1060, and was followed by Aldred, the last of the Saxon Archbishops of York. Before his elevation to York he held the sees of Hereford and Worcester. The latter he retained, and went to Rome for the purpose of obtaining the pallium, accompanied by Earl Tosti, the brother of Harold. The pope refused, fiercely reproaching him for attempting to hold the see of Worcester as well as that of York, and for having failed to seek the license of the apostolic see for his promotion. He degraded and dismissed him. On his homeward journey, not many miles from Rome, Aldred and Earl Tosti fell into the hands of a band of robbers, and were stripped and plundered. They returned to Rome and sought an audience of the pope. Earl Tosti's indignation was expressed in no measured terms. He told the pope that there was small chance of his excommunication being regarded by any distant country, so long as it was so little heeded by the ruffians of his own dominions, and that he would take good care, if no restitution was made to them of the losses they had sustained, it should be made good by the king of England out of the Peter-pence when they reached their own land. The determined attitude of the high-spirited Saxon was not without its effect, and, on condition that Aldred resigned Worcester, the pope confirmed the archbishopric to him and gave him the pallium.

Aldred was a most munificent prelate. He endowed stalls at Southwell, which was then growing into importance. He built much at York and Beverley. At the latter place he added a presbytery,

rebuilt the whole of the western portion of the church, and adorned it with many rich and sumptuous accessories. The sanctuary privileges of the church received extension, and he attached prebends to its canonries, raising their number from seven to eight.

But days of trouble and darkness were nigh at hand. In 1066 the last lineal descendant of Cerdic, Edward the Confessor, died, and the day of his funeral in the Abbey of Westminster, the church which he had himself erected, witnessed also the coronation of his successor Harold. Archbishop Aldred placed the crown upon his head, all unconscious that in that very sanctuary he would, in a few short months, perform the like office for the stern and haughty warrior who was destined to put an end to the Saxon dynasty and to hold with iron grasp the country over which its kings had ruled.

Harold's seat upon his throne was anything but a firm one. It was threatened from two opposite quarters,—William, duke of Normandy, on the one side, and his own brother, Earl Tosti, on the other. William would not admit the validity of Harold's election, and was furiously indignant because the latter was false to the oath which, it is said, he had sworn, whereby he pledged himself to promote William's claim to the throne. Tosti had been exiled from Northumbria, and now sought, if it might be, to win for himself a kingdom. He secured the assistance of Harold Hardrada, the Norwegian king, and a descent was made upon the coast of Yorkshire. They were encountered at Water Fulford, near Bishop-

thorpe, by the Earls Edwin and Morcar. The invaders gained the day, and a great slaughter took place, in which many of the clergy suffered. A few days after, another engagement took place at Stamford Bridge, on the river Derwent. [A.D. 1066, Sept. 25.] Harold led his army in person and obtained a decisive victory. Tosti was slain. Tradition has preserved some memories of the day. A piece of level ground near the river is still known as Battle Flats, and a curious custom survives of making pies at Stamford Feast in the shape of a boat. This is said to be a sort of memorial of the mode adopted to destroy a Norwegian who held a wooden bridge, which crossed the Derwent, single-handed, for upwards of three hours, and killed forty men. Some one, who combined craft with his boldness, contrived to run a small boat under the bridge, watched his opportunity, and killed the gallant Northman by thrusting a spear between the joinings of its wood-work.

Three days after this a yet more formidable invasion took place. William anchored off the coast of Sussex. He landed without opposition and marched his troops to Hastings. There Harold gave him battle on the 14th October. The details of that memorable engagement need not be here repeated. Harold fell on that fatal field, and with him ended the line of the Saxon kings. His fall gave the sovereignty of England to the Norman conqueror. At Christmas he was crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Aldred.

But Aldred was no time-server. He saw, indeed, that his country had received another master, and he

submitted to his rule; but before he placed the crown upon his head, he exacted from him an oath that the rights and liberties of the church should be respected, that he would govern according to the laws of England, and that no undue preference should be shown to his Norman followers. William was politic enough to see the wisdom of conciliating his new subjects by acceding to the request of the ablest and most independent prelate in the dominions he had acquired. And he doubtless intended to keep his word. For a time all went well. "His soldiers were kept in strict order. No change was made in law or custom. The privileges of London were recognised by a royal writ which still remains, the most venerable of its muniments, amongst the city's archives. Peace and order were restored."¹

This tranquility, however, was not lasting. Northumbria ill brooked submission to the new sovereign. An insurrection took place under Edwin and Morcar, in which the men of York joined, regardless of the advice and entreaties of their Archbishop. It was soon quelled by the presence of William, who fortified a castle in the city to overawe the inhabitants. Another revolt took place, with a similar result. But preparations for a more decisive blow at William's power were making in another quarter. Sweyn, the king of Denmark, was fitting out a fleet for a descent upon the shores of Northumbria. The news proved a fatal blow to Aldred. He had striven earnestly for the promotion of peace, and he saw that this irruption

of the Northmen would be a death-blow to his endeavours. He prayed fervently that his end might come before he was compelled to witness the misery which he foresaw to be inevitable. His prayer was heard. He sickened and died on the 11th September, 1069, and was buried in the minster of York. He was an able prelate, a man of wonderful energy, independence, and courage. There must have been no ordinary amount of intrepidity in one who showed, on more than one occasion, that he feared not the wrathful glance or the fiercer words of William the Norman.

CHAPTER IX.

WITH Aldred's death another epoch in the history of the Church of York commences. He was scarcely laid in his grave before the threatened descent of the Northmen took place. The two sons of Sweyn entered the Humber with their fleet. York was stormed. Three thousand Normans, who formed the garrison were slain. "The minster with its treasures—its muniments, and the glorious library which had been the pride of Saxon England—all were surrendered to the flames." The news of this terrible onslaught soon reached William. It had been so ably planned and so skilfully carried out that even his astuteness had failed to foresee the probability of such a revolt against his power. His wrath and indignation were proportionately aggravated. He swore his grisly oath, "by the splendour of God," that he would be avenged, and with the sternest determination and the most ruthless cruelty he carried out his purpose. He inflicted a terrible retribution. If the inhabitants had sympathised, as no doubt they did, with the Danish king, and would fain have thrown off the yoke which William's conquest had laid upon the country, the Norman king was relentless in his vengeance, and in carrying it out in such a manner that resistance to his power should be in all future time alike hopeless and impracticable. The coast was ravaged, so that any

future landing of the Northmen might be rendered, practically, useless. The fair vale of York, full of towns and cultivated fields, which stretched above sixty miles from the city, as far as the water of the Tees, was devastated so completely that, as William of Malmesbury tells us, it remained barren and desolate down to his own time. The crops which were growing in the fields, the cattle which grazed in the pastures, and the implements of husbandry were all destroyed. The wretched inhabitants who failed to secure safety by a timely flight were put to the sword and their houses burned. Famine subsequently added its horrors, which is said to have added 100,000 to the list of those who perished by the hands of William's soldiery. A fresh rising indeed took place in 1071, under the leadership of Edwin and Morcar, who had some hope, as it seems, of receiving aid from King Malcolm of Scotland; but it was an abortive attempt, and Malcolm eventually acknowledged the great Norman as his liege lord. England then became in reality one kingdom under one sovereign.

One effect of the Norman conquest was a change as regarded the appointment of bishops. They were no longer of Saxon or Danish blood. Most of the English prelates were removed from their sees, and their places filled by Norman ecclesiastics. The days were passed when a bishop could nominate his successor, and the policy of the Conqueror was utterly adverse to the people having any share in the election of their chief pastor. "Prelates were practically chosen by the king. Homage was exacted

from bishop as from baron. No royal tenant could be excommunicated save by the king's leave. No synod could legislate without his previous assent and subsequent confirmation of its decrees. No papal letters could be received within the realm save by his permission. The king firmly repudiated the claims which were beginning to be put forward by the court of Rome. When Gregory VII. called on him to do fealty for his kingdom, the king sternly refused to admit the claim. 'Fealty I have never willed to do, nor will I do it now. I have never promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors did it to yours.'"¹

The see of York, as we have seen, was vacated by death. It remained vacant for eight months, when it was filled up by the appointment of Thomas of Bayeux. He is said to have been a son of Osbert, a canon of Bayeux, whose name, as well as that of his mother, Muriel, occurs in the Durham "*Liber Vitæ*" (pp. 139, 140). He was an ardent student from early boyhood, and as he advanced to manhood, he sought fresh stores of learning in the schools of Germany and Spain. On his return to Bayeux "his learning attracted the attention and gained for him the intimacy of Odo, the bishop of that place, who was a brother of the Conqueror of England and a person of commanding influence." To that influence he has been supposed to have owed his promotion. But there may have been a nearer and closer tie between Thomas of Bayeux and William. Mr. Planché ("*Companions of the Conqueror*, ii. 272) cites a charter of the king which Archbishop Thomas wit-

¹ Green's "*History*," i. p. 131.

nesses as *filius Regis*, and draws the inference that he was a natural son of the Conqueror.

He was nominated Archbishop at Whitsuntide, 1070. There was then no Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the Northern Province the number of suffragan bishops, as it happened, was insufficient, so that he was obliged to wait Lanfranc's own consecration before he could receive imposition of hands. But a difficulty arose. Lanfranc claimed in the first place a declaration of obedience and subjection to the chair of Augustine. Thomas refused. The matter was laid before the king, who ordered Lanfranc to consecrate unconditionally. The latter, however, argued the matter with William, suggesting the expedience of one primate only being recognised, and representing the possible danger which might arise to the realm from a contrary course. In the end Thomas yielded so far as to promise to be subject to Lanfranc, though he would not engage to yield submission to his successors. Lanfranc thought it well to profess contentment with this partial obedience, and proceeded with the Archbishop's consecration.

Both went together to Rome to receive their palls, accompanied by Remigius, bishop of Dorchester. The question of the subjection of York to Canterbury was laid before the pope by Thomas. He also claimed supremacy over the sees of Dorchester (Lincoln), Worcester, and Lichfield; Lanfranc retaliated by throwing doubts upon the validity of the election of both his companions, Thomas, as being the son of a priest, and Remigius as having been guilty of simony; and the pope deprived them both of pastoral staff and

ring, though at Lanfranc's request they were afterwards restored. Pope Alexander gave no decided judgment upon the question of subjection to Canterbury, but referred it to the decision of a national synod in their own country; whilst the jurisdiction of Worcester was to be settled by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. A synod was held, at which the king was present, the issue of which was that the Humber was made the southern boundary of the diocese of York. The northern primates were to swear allegiance to Canterbury, and to appear with their suffragans when bidden to a council within that province. A subsequent order, made in 1075, assigned them a seat on the right hand of the primate.

The question of Worcester was settled at a synod held in 1072, when it was determined that it should in future belong to the southern province, and not to York.

Archbishop Thomas was very averse from parting with the oversight of Lindsey, and long vehemently opposed the transference of Remigius' episcopal seat from Dorchester to Lincoln. But he was obliged at last to give way. Lincoln and Lindsey were eventually transferred to Canterbury, and in lieu thereof the Archbishops of York were to have the abbey of Selby and the monastery of St. Oswald at Gloucester.

When Thomas of Bayeux came to York nothing could exceed the wretchedness of all that he saw around him. The minster was a blackened ruin, and, as has already been mentioned, a vast tract of country in his diocese was utterly waste and desolate. Out of seven canons attached to the church of York

three only were left to minister therein, without a house of their own to shelter them, and without any certain maintenance. Their fellows were either dead or dispersed. But Thomas had all the energy and determination, and all the love of organisation which were such distinguishing characteristics of the Norman, and he set to work vigorously to rebuild, to re-organise, and to restore the waste places. The minster was temporarily refitted for the performance of divine offices, and was subsequently, to a great extent, reconstructed. Portions of masonry, apparently belonging to Archbishop Thomas's period, are still in existence in the crypt; but Professor Willis inclines to the supposition that he only rebuilt the Saxon chancel, and left it to be rebuilt after his nave and transepts were completed.¹ He also rebuilt the refectory and dormitory. He gathered together as many of the canons as survived, and increased their number, assigning to each a distinct *prebenda*, or separate estate, out of the lands of the church. Heretofore, to use Bishop Godwin's words, "they lived together upon the common charges of the church, at one table, much in like sort as fellowes of houses doe now in the universities." He likewise altered the constitution of the body. Under the Saxon archbishops, one of the seven canons was the *abbas*, or superior, another the *magister scholarum*, and the third the *custos civitatis*. In the place of these the ruler whom Thomas placed at the head of the canons was styled Dean, a Chancellor represented the *magister scholarum*, and a Treasurer took the place of the *custos*

¹ "Arch. History of York Cathedral," p. 16.

civitatis. He also appointed a Chantor, or Precentor. Provision was further made for endowing any future canons who might be added to the number then constituted. Thomas of Bayeux was peculiarly circumspect in the selection of his canons, and not less so as regarded the clergy of his diocese. "His special care" (to quote Bishop Godwin's quaint words) "was to replenish the church and the rest of his dioces with learned and honest men, with whom he was wont continually to conferre and reason (sometimes with one and sometimes with another), partly for his owne exercise, and partly to see what was in them, and to raise them uppe to a diligence in increasing their knowledge."¹

The dispersion of the canons of the Minster at the time when the Conqueror carried out his ruthless devastation of so large a tract of country, would, no doubt, be accompanied or followed by the wholesale scattering of the parochial clergy. The parochial system had unquestionably become a recognised mode of working, long anterior to the Norman conquest. The Domesday Survey in very many instances mentions churches in connection with the vills and towns which it records, and we can scarcely doubt that they had been the work of the Saxon lords, with the exception, possibly, of a few which might have arisen under the energetic rule of Archbishop Thomas, in the short interval between his accession to the see and the compilation of that great record. To assist him in the supervision of the parochial clergy, Thomas assigned certain districts to archdeacons. This was

¹ Bishop Godwin's "Catal.," p. 576.

not a new office, for they are mentioned in the Laws of the Northumbrian priests, but they probably now had more definite duties imposed upon them. During Archbishop Thomas' episcopate there were possibly not more than two archdeaconries, York and Richmond. The latter was the richest in the kingdom, and its district of very wide extent. It included eight deaneries, Boroughbridge, Catterick, Richmond, Lonsdale, Kendal, Amounderness, Furness, and Cope-land. If the archdeacon of York was the only other *oculus episcopi* his duties would be yet more onerous. In the succeeding century we find a record of the names of those who filled the office of archdeacon in the several districts of the East Riding, of Cleveland, and of Nottingham.

The canons of York were seculars, as has already been noticed (*ante*, p. 89.) Beverley and Ripon were under the same system, as was also Southwell. The canons of Ripon are mentioned in Domesday.

When Thomas came to the see the monastic system in Northumbria had absolutely disappeared. The Benedictine rule had no longer any existence. Its restoration had a very humble beginning. The prior of the monastery of Winchcombe, Aldwin by name, had learned from the pages of Bede that the Northumbrian province had, in days gone by, been famous for many holy places, inhabited by saintly men whose sole object was to live a life of prayer and to be as lights amid the darkness around. He ardently longed to visit the places which were associated with the memories of these servants of God, and, if it might be, to repair their desolation. He went to the monas-

tery of Evesham. Two of the brethren of that house, Elfwy and Reinfrid, were deeply moved by his earnest and stirring words, and gained permission from their superior to accompany him on his pilgrimage. The three set forth on foot, taking an ass with them to carry their service books, vestments, and whatever else was requisite for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. They made their way to the banks of the Tyne, and after covering the ruined church of Jarrow with a roof of rough-hewn rafters and planks, they made it once more re-echo the sounds of the holy service of the altar. Adjoining to it they constructed a lowly hut for their own shelter, and there they lived, depending solely for subsistence upon the alms of those who deeply venerated their simple faith, their patient endurance, and their earnest zeal. Many joined them and received the monastic habit from the hands of Aldwin, who, from Symeon's delineation of his character, must have been a man of singular gifts. Walcher, the bishop of Durham, watched their work and marked its progress. It was a revival of work which had long lain dormant, a quickening of seed that had been sown in by-gone years upon that very spot by Benedict Biscop, and Bede. Walcher recognised it with joy and gladness, and bestowed upon them the vill of Jarrow and its dependent townships, that they might perfect that which they had begun, and be able to exist without anxious thought as to how the morrow's meal was to be provided.

Encouraged by the success which attended their efforts in Walcher's diocese, their energies were next directed to repair the waste places in the great shire

of York. Reinfrid went to Whitby, where he gathered a community together about 1078, and obtained permission from William de Percy to occupy the site and precincts of the ancient monastery there. Here he was joined by Stephen, afterwards abbot of York. On Reinfrid's death many of the brethren were desirous of electing Stephen as their superior, but this was overruled by the Percy family, through whose powerful influence Serlo de Percy became prior. Stephen then retired from Whitby, and with the assistance of Alan, Earl of Richmond, commenced the reconstruction of the abbey at York, a work which was sanctioned by Archbishop Thomas. To this monastery land was afterwards given by William Rufus, who laid the foundation stone of a new building in 1089, and changed the dedication of the church from St. Olave's, which had been given by its first founder Siward, to that of St. Mary, by which it was ever after known.

Such was the humble origin of the great Benedictine houses which, after the conquest, arose in Yorkshire. Those three lowly monks were the real restorers of the rule of the great St. Benedict in Northumbria.

The great Abbey of Selby was a royal foundation. It was endowed by the Conqueror, and its buildings commenced during his lifetime. St. Mary's Abbey and that of Selby were the greatest of the Benedictine houses in Yorkshire, and the only two mitred abbeys north of Trent.

The Conqueror's policy made him secure of having the support of the Church as well as of the baronage,

and the appointments which he made to bishoprics were for the most part good. The Norman ecclesiastics were, no doubt, far superior in learning and culture to the native clergy. Ordericus Vitalis says that the English were, at the conquest, rude and almost illiterate, which he ascribes to the Danish invasion. When the great Norman became ruler "England at once becomes the resort of the most learned men of the age, with the two mighty ones from Bec at their head."¹

But eminent as William's bishops might be in character and learning, they laboured under one great and serious disadvantage. However earnest they might be in promoting the spiritual welfare of the people, according to the mode which they deemed most conducive to that end, however energetic in enforcing discipline and in bringing the ministrations of religion to bear upon their flocks, one great link was wanting to unite them together. The new prelates were all foreigners, and, with probably few exceptions, the ecclesiastics whom they promoted to the most responsible positions in the Church were also of Norman blood. No zeal on the part of the pastor, no personal holiness and piety could altogether bridge over the chasm by which he and his flock were thus separated. And it lasted long. For a hundred years or more was William's policy acted upon. Becket is said to have been the first Englishman who was raised to any great position. Eadmer says that Henry I. would not place any Englishman at the head of a monastery.

¹ Freeman's "Norman Conquest," v. p. 577.

There was yet another element of danger and weakness to the Church, as regarded her spiritual functions, when the power of the crown was unaccompanied by a stern sense of principle and of duty in him who wore it. The Church was dependent on the crown in like manner as the baronage. Just as a minor came under the wardship of the king, and with that wardship the profits of his lands accrued to the sovereign till the expiration of its period, so also during the vacancy of a bishopric, or of an abbey, the revenues belonging to it passed into the sovereign's hands. When that sovereign was alike profuse and unscrupulous, as was the case with the Red King, it is needless to say what the issue was. Again and again did that sovereign defer the appointment of successors to vacant sees. And it carried even a worse evil along with it. It promoted the growth of simony. Unscrupulous ecclesiastics bid one against another to secure some high and lucrative position in the Church, and utter corruption was the inevitable result. The see of York does not at this time furnish an example, for Thomas of Bayeux's long episcopate witnessed Rufus's tragical end; but it is recorded that when that sovereign fell by some unknown hand in the glades of the New Forest, one archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys were devoid of pastors.

Archbishop Thomas did not long survive the Red King. He is said by Malmesbury to have crowned Henry I. But this is doubtful. His death took place at York on the 18th Nov., 1100, after an episcopate of about thirty years. He was buried in the

minster near his predecessor Aldred. He was a man of undoubted ability, with no mean amount of learning, and of irreproachable morals.

[1101.] He was succeeded by Gerard, Bishop of Hereford, who had been one of Rufus's chaplains. The question of subjection to Canterbury was again stirred. Anselm refused to recommend him to the pope when he was on the way to Rome to obtain his pall unless he would promise obedience to the chair of Canterbury either before he went or on his return. Gerard's reply was evasive. But he took a letter with him addressed by the king to Paschal, and obtained the pall. More than one unseemly collision took place between him and Anselm, but the exile of the latter seems to have drawn out more kindly feelings on the part of Gerard, and their reconciliation after his return from his banishment appears to have been complete.

Archbishop Gerard obtained the church of Laughton from the king, and it formed the endowment of an additional stall in the minster. From the same source he obtained six other churches. That of Snaith he bestowed upon Selby Abbey. The churches of Driffield, Kilham, Pocklington, Pickering, and Burgh he gave to the minster.

[1108.] Thomas II., son of Sampson, the first Norman Bishop of Worcester, who was a brother of Thomas of Bayeux, was the next Archbishop. He had been appointed by his uncle as provost of Beverley, when the foundation attached to that minster was re-constituted. In 1108 the see of London fell vacant, and Thomas was nominated to it. But the

appointment was not carried out. Gerard died, and at the urgent request of the Dean of York and some of his canons the king consented to advance him to the northern primacy. As soon as the news of his election to the see of York became known to Anselm, there was a recurrence of the old demand of subjection. Both parties were resolute in maintaining what they conceived to be their rights. Both tried to gain the support of the king. At one time a sort of compromise was suggested, viz., to make it *pro hac vice*, at all events, a personal matter, and to recognise the primacy of Anselm. One bishop after another was sent to confer with Thomas, but nothing could shake his determination. Submission to Canterbury he would not brook. The king's intervention was sought, and a letter was addressed by him to the pope requesting that some duly authorised person should be sent by the apostolic see to settle the dissension. Ulric, a cardinal, was selected for this office. In the meantime Anselm passed away, but even on his death-bed he addressed a letter to Thomas urging him in the most solemn manner to make submission to the primatial see. In the end the king required the Archbishop-elect of York to submit himself to Canterbury, only without prejudice to his successors or the Church. Thomas stubbornly resisted, to the great displeasure of the king, who threatened ruin to him and all connected with him if he persisted in his obstinate refusal. With great difficulty he was, at last, in a manner compelled to yield, and was consecrated by the Bishop of London.

The episcopate of Thomas II. was not a long one,

and furnishes little that is noteworthy as to the concerns of the diocese. Two new stalls were founded at York, and a grant of privileges obtained for the church of Southwell, which was freed from certain claims on the part of the Archbishops. His greatest work was at Hexham. The church there appears to have belonged in turn to the Archbishops of York and the Bishops of Durham. The bishopric of Hexham had come to an end after the death of Tidferth, about 822, probably in consequence of the turbulent condition of the most northern part of Bernicia; but the monastery remained, under the government of a provost. Strangely enough, the office became an hereditary one, the son succeeding the father for several generations, a fact which corroborates other testimony that in the north of England marriage among the clergy of all ranks and orders was rather the rule than the exception. The prebend of Holme in York Minster had been attached to this office by Archbishop Thomas I. Thomas II. re-constituted Hexham altogether. He made it a house of Augustinian canons under the rule of a prior, giving them at the same time four villis, and a mill and fishery on the Tyne, together with other benefactions. The Archbishop's death took place on the 24th February, 1114.

CHAPTER X.

[A.D. 1114.] THOMAS II. was succeeded by Thurstan, whose name stands out as the great restorer of monastic discipline and organisation in the north. Before he was in a position to undertake that work, however, he had many years of anxious controversy on the never-ending subject of the claim so persistently arrogated by Canterbury to the dependence and submission of York.

When Thurstan was nominated to the see of York he was only a sub-deacon. After receiving the diaconate from the bishop of Winchester he was received and enthroned at York. The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned him to receive the priesthood and consecration to the episcopate at his hands, but he refused to obey the summons. He well knew that Canterbury would forego none of his demands, and that unless he made his profession of obedience, consecration would be refused. Thurstan went into Normandy, and sought permission of Henry to go to Rome, which the king declined to grant. The papal legate in France was consulted by the king, and his counsel was that Thurstan should be ordained priest by one of the suffragans at the court, and then proceed to Rome, where the pope would doubtless meet the difficulty by consecrating him himself and then giving him the pall. The king permitted him to

receive priest's orders from Flambard, bishop of Durham, but still refused to sanction his journey to Rome.

In the meantime the chapter of York had written to the pope announcing Thurstan's election, and urging that his consecration should not be delayed. The pope recognised the choice of the chapter and directed the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate at once, without requiring the profession. The pope's missive was unregarded. The Archbishop of Canterbury persisted in his requirements, and Thurstan was equally determined not to yield. For five years the dispute went on. The king had been induced to support the views of Canterbury, and although three successive popes—Paschal, Gelasius, and Calixtus—all supported Thurstan's views, the matter still remained unsettled. It came to an end in 1119. In that year a council was held at Rheims, over which Calixtus presided. Thurstan was permitted by Henry to attend it, under the idea that there was no likelihood of his receiving consecration from the pope. But he was mistaken. The pope embraced the opportunity and consecrated him with his own hands. Henry's indignation was extreme, but a conference took place between him and the pope with the view, if possible, of getting things arranged. A compromise was proposed. Profession of obedience to the prelate who now sat in the chair of Canterbury was to be imperative, though it was not of necessity to be required in the case of his successors. But all overtures were fruitless, and on Henry's return to England he dispossessed Thurstan of the property attaching

to his see. The latter met with every kindness from the pope, who steadfastly adhered to Thurstan's cause. Calixtus at last came to the conclusion that a decisive step must be taken. His final resolve was that the Church of York should for ever be free from any profession of submission to the see of Canterbury, and that the papal bull should be affixed to the charter of exemption. This document was conveyed to the king, together with letters which hinted in no obscure manner that if it were disregarded, and Thurstan did not receive restitution of his temporalities, the spiritual arm would be raised to strike. It is needless to say this threatened excommunication. Henry scarcely dared to venture upon provoking such a measure on the part of the pope, and after a good deal of negotiation, and some dexterous diplomacy on the part of Thurstan which promoted peace between France and England, much to the gratification of the king, the Archbishop's temporalities were restored, and he made his public entry into York some time in the Lent of 1121. A mighty multitude gathered to meet him, and on the third day after his arrival he publicly rehearsed from his seat of dignity in the minster the charter of privilege and exemption which he had received. But his troubles on the subject were not at an end. His old opponent, Ralph d'Escures, was succeeded in the chair of Canterbury by William de Corbeil, who again brought the matter before the pope. It was ended for the time by the appointment of Corbeil as legate, which gave him a personal superiority which could not be gainsaid.

Thurstan at last is recognised as possessing place

and power as Archbishop of York. He is no exception to the strange anomaly which is so commonly found to characterise the mediæval prelates. They were bishops of the Church, and therefore they exercised spiritual functions. On great occasions they celebrated pontifical high mass in their cathedrals. But they were also great statesmen, petty sovereigns, and, what seems most of all alien to their episcopal character, they took the command of armies in the field. The hand which one day held aloft the crosier, wielded perchance on the very next the battle-axe or the sword. However brief and imperfect our sketch of Thurstan's career, it would be incomplete without the mention of the battle of the Standard, and the part he took in gathering together the baronage of the north, in rousing the spirit of the Yorkshiremen, and uniting them under the holy and venerated banners of St. Cuthbert of Durham, St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon, which floated from a pole reared high upon a wheeled car which was dragged to a little eminence near North Allerton, still known as Standard Hill. It is needless to recount the story of the repulse of the Scottish hordes, and the gallant stand by which the Yorkshiremen saved the north of England from the devastation of those ruthless and implacable foes.

His chief fame rests, however, upon works of a different character, destined for something like four succeeding centuries to exercise a most powerful influence, religious, political, and social, upon the wide district over which his episcopal rule extended.

When Thurstan came to York he found some great

monasteries in existence, professing the Benedictine rule. But their inmates were no longer actuated by the spirit of the great and holy man whose name they bore. Broad lands and wide possessions had been given them as a heritage. To institutions, as to individuals, they are oftentimes a fatal gift. All the foresight and prudence of pious founders are insufficient to ensure their exemption from the gradual tendency to which all human institutions are liable—*in pejus ruere, ac retro sublapsa referri*. It was the case in other countries as well as in England. It was seen that the injunctions of St. Benedict, which sought to perpetuate "a school of service to the Lord," were, if not absolutely set at nought, at least disregarded, and a new order arose which sought to restore the strict observance of a rule which had become practically obsolete. This was done by the foundation of the abbey of Cîteaux in 1098, by a monk named Robert, who became abbot of St. Michael's at Tonnerre, in the diocese of Langres. In 1109 he was succeeded by Stephen Harding, who was the real founder of the great Cistercian order and its great organizer, the compiler of the *Charta caritatis*, "a set of regulations chiefly designed to promote uniformity in the understanding and practice of the rule of St. Benedict in the Cistercian monasteries, and to guide the mutual connection, dependence, and intercourse between them." He was joined by one whose name is familiar as a household word as the last of the Fathers, the great St. Bernard, who strove to work out there his conception of pure and angelic devotion. In 1115 he planted an offshoot from Cis-

teaux, the yet more famous Clairvaux, from whence under the combined influence of his eloquence, his asceticism, and his pure and holy life, the Cistercian order rapidly spread itself in every part of Europe. At his death, in 1153, there were 160 monasteries which had been formed by monks from Clairvaux. In England, Waverley was the first foundation. It was rapidly followed by others. Thurstan had become acquainted with Bernard during his sojourn in France, and when he became Archbishop of York his great object seems to have been the reorganisation of the existing orders, and the bringing in of others who maintained a more ascetic discipline and a sterner rule. Six houses of Augustinian canons were established in Yorkshire between 1120 and 1125. Kirkham, of which a fragment still remains in the beautiful valley near Castle Howard, was founded by Walter l'Espec; Gisburgh, by Robert de Brus; Bridlington, by Walter le Gant. The priory of Bolton, so charmingly situated amid its secluded woods on the banks of the Wharfe, owes its origin to William of Meschines and his wife, Cecilia Romillé, in loving memory of the "boy of Egremond," whose hound hung back when its master would have leapt across the "Strid," and dragged him by the leash into the rushing waters below. His mother was met by one who had witnessed that fatal fall with the words, "What is good for a bootless bene?"—

"And she made answer, 'Endless sorrow,'
For she knew that her son was dead.

* * * * *

Long, long in the darkness did she sit,
And her first words—'Let there be
In Bolton, on the field of Wharfe,
A stately Priory.'
The stately Priory was reared ;
And Wharfe, as he moved along,
To matins joined a mournful voice,
Nor failed at even-song."

The pathetic tradition thus enshrined in Wordsworth's verse will not, however, bear the light of historical criticism, but it will be long ere it ceases to be associated in popular credence with the ancient walls which still stand in all their solemn beauty in the valley of Wharfe. Thurstan bestowed upon Bolton the churches of Skipton and Kildwick. Nostal was another Augustinian house. In 1130 the first nunnery established in the north after the Conquest was founded by Thurstan at Clementhorpe, near York. Its inmates were Benedictines. In the following year Walter l'Espec founded another monastic house in the valley of the Rye, surrounded by wild moorland hills and large tracts of deep forest. It was a father's memorial to a much-loved and only son who came to an untimely end. It became the home of a colony from Clairvaux, sent by St. Bernard, and its situation fulfilled their every requirement, for it was solitary, inaccessible, and uncultured.

A yet greater Cistercian house owes its beginning to Thurstan, that which at the Dissolution was perhaps second to none in the wide extent of its territorial possessions, the magnificence of its church, and the vastness of its monastic buildings. The princely

magnificence of its latter house was in strange contrast with the austere asceticism of those who first sought retirement and solitude on the banks of the Skell.

St. Mary's Abbey, whose ruins form one of the most interesting features of York, was found by Thurstan in no very satisfactory state. Its discipline was more than lax. The rule of the great and saintly man by which they professed to be governed was a dead letter. The great majority of the inmates were turbulent, quarrelsome, and insubordinate. Yet there were some amongst them who yearned for a better state of things and ardently sought reformation. The usual fate of reformers was theirs. They were met by hatred, opposition, and contumely. Counsel was sought from the Archbishop, and he appointed a day for the visitation of the monastery. He went in state, attended by the Dean and the chief dignitaries of the Minster. Little was the respect shewn to the prelate's person, scant the reverence to his sacred office. Entrance was denied him. Hoots and yells drowned his remonstrances. His menace of putting the monastery under an interdict was received with derision, and so wild became the tumult that the populace began to gather in great number. Thurstan deemed it wiser to withdraw before further violence ensued. Thirteen monks—the reforming party—whose earnest piety had long been scandalised by the self-indulgent, careless lives of the majority of their brethren, contrived with some difficulty to make their exit from St. Mary's and accompany the Archbishop in his retreat. He gave them an asylum for a time,

and then granted them a portion of land out of his liberty of Ripon, where they might live in peace and serve God as they desired, like the prophetess of old, "in fastings and prayers night and day." Their sincerity was unquestionable. No hardship daunted them. They went in the dead of winter to their solitary place in the valley of the Skell, making huts for themselves under the spreading branches of some ancient yew trees, and sustaining life as they best might on the roots which they dug out of the earth. But the offerings of the faithful flowed in with great munificence. Ere long a church was reared, and the needful domestic buildings grew up under its shadow. Many springs of water bubbled up in that little valley, which led them to adopt for their house the name of Fountains. It was a designation which suggested to the religious mind many scriptural and allegorical applications of no small beauty and no little spiritual significance. Such was that smallest of all seeds which grew into the mighty tree of the richest and most powerful of the Cistercian houses in England.

Thurstan, most assuredly, was sincerely anxious to promote the revival of religion in his great diocese, and the extension of monastic institutions was the mode by which he sought to secure that end. But the area of the diocese was enormous, and he seems to have felt that other means were also needed. Episcopal supervision was practically out of his power as regarded that wide tract of country which lay to the north-west and extended beyond the border. The see of Whitherne had long been in abeyance, and

although the archdeacon of Richmond had great powers over his extensive district, and had gradually laid claim to a jurisdiction over Cumberland and Westmorland, his supervision could not make up for the absence of a bishop's rule. Thurstan saw this, and in 1132 he obtained the king's consent to the erection of a new see, that of Carlisle; the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland being assigned to it as its bishop's diocese. About the same time he revived the see of Whitherne, thus securing his own ability to extend the benefit of episcopal oversight to the most remote and inaccessible portion of the great province over which he ruled.

Scarcely, however, had these measures been adopted before they were set on one side. In 1138 Northumberland and Cumberland were overrun and occupied by the Scots. The bishop of Carlisle was seldom permitted to enter his diocese, and after his death the long period of sixty-two years elapsed before a successor could be found.

A disputed election followed Thurstan's death, which took place in 1140. William Fitzherbert, known afterwards as St. William of York, was elected by a majority of the chapter, and their election was favourably accepted by King Stephen, Fitzherbert's uncle, as also by the bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, who was then the papal legate. But the Cistercian interest was arrayed against him, supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the great St. Bernard himself, who were anxious to secure the appointment of Henry Murdac, the abbot of Fountains. The Cistercians were then all powerful at Rome, and

Murdac rivalled his friend and master St. Bernard in his own personal austerity of life and the unbending rigidity with which he enforced the ascetic rule of his Order. During Murdac's life William Fitzherbert lived in retirement at Winchester. On Murdac's death, in 1153, he was restored to the position to which he had formerly been elected, and received the pall from Pope Anastasius. When he entered York as Archbishop he was welcomed by the acclamations of a vast multitude. A wooden bridge over the Ouse gave way under the pressure of the crowd, and many were precipitated into the river. William is said to have offered up earnest prayers to Almighty God, beseeching Him with tears to save them. Not a life was lost, and in memory of the miraculous preservation, as it was deemed, which his supplications had procured, a bridge of stone was built with a chapel upon it bearing his name, which existed down to comparatively recent times.

His tenure of the archiepiscopal dignity was a very brief one. He was in York but thirty days. On Trinity Sunday he celebrated high mass in the minster, which he had barely finished before he was attacked by illness. Eight days after, he died, and Osbert of Bayeux, who had been archdeacon under Thurstan and Murdac, was popularly supposed to have been guilty of the foul crime of putting poison into the chalice which the Archbishop used at the celebration. An allusion to this occurs in one of the hymns for the Translation of St. William in the York Breviary. Many miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb, and as the church of York had

up to that time no saint peculiar to itself, the chapter were very desirous to obtain his canonisation. A good deal of delay took place, but it was procured at last through the powerful intervention of Anthony Bec, the great bishop of Durham, and his remains were translated to a shrine of befitting splendour, which probably stood behind the high altar of the choir.

[A.D. 1154.] St. William was succeeded by Roger de Pont L'Eveque. He was an able man, and took an active and energetic part in the politics of his time. The interest of the ecclesiastical history of this period centres in the strife between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket, a struggle which raged with the utmost bitterness for several years. In this Archbishop Roger took the king's side. The end of it is too well known to need a detail here. Becket's partisans never ceased to charge Archbishop Roger with having been one of the main causes of the misfortunes of the martyred primate.

The old conflict between the two Archbishops was revived at a synod held at Westminster, in 1175, by Becket's successor. The Archbishop of York was not present, but claims were made by some of his clerks on his behalf. They asserted his right to bear his cross erect within the province of Canterbury and to have spiritual control over the sees of Lincoln, Lichfield, Worcester, and Hereford. An appeal was made to Rome on the subject, as also with reference to the primate of Canterbury's excommunication of the officers of St. Oswald's church at Gloucester. This was taken off and the other points deferred. In the following year the question of place and dignity

culminated in a grotesque and most undignified scene in the council chamber at Westminster. The papal legate was present. Who was to sit on his right hand? Archbishop Richard took the place. He of York thrust himself in between them, and, as it is confidently stated, sat down in Canterbury's lap. The friends of the latter, priests and laymen, even bishops it was said, fell upon Roger, cuffed him, threw him down, tore his robes, and trampled on him, shouting after him, as he made his ignoble exit, that he was the betrayer of St. Thomas, and that the martyr's blood was still red upon his hands. An attempt was made to settle the matter, not long after this ludicrous scene, by a bull of Pope Alexander (1179), which, in accordance with the old decree of Gregory the Great, forbade altogether the token of submission.

Roger had many controversies with the Scottish bishops as to the dependence of their sees upon York, a matter which had often previously been in dispute. It was not finally settled until after his death.

His policy with regard to the monastic system was different from that of Thurstan, and he was accused of being absolutely opposed to it. He certainly had no scruples as to checking such abuses as presented themselves to his notice, which may possibly account for the adverse estimate expressed respecting him by the monastic chroniclers. One thing is noteworthy, that "with the exception of the Abbey of Welbeck and one or two other places, all the religious houses which were founded in the diocese of York during his episcopate were Cistercian or Benedictine nunneries."

Roger had all the Norman love for building. A fragment of the archiepiscopal residence which he reared on the north side of the minster yet remains. At Ripon he began the rebuilding of the church, where some of his work is still to be seen in the nave, adjoining the western towers; in the north transept, the doorway of which is a characteristic example of the architecture of his period, and in the westernmost bays of the choir. At York he rebuilt the choir of the minster, and a portion of the crypt may be identified as being part of his work. He had been Archdeacon of Canterbury before he became Archbishop, and was probably desirous of emulating "the glorious choir of Conrad," which was "the pride of Canterbury." He also founded the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, on the north side of the cathedral, with splendid endowments. On the 22nd of November, 1181, he died.

The see remained vacant for ten years, the king meanwhile receiving its great revenues. The spiritualities were under the care of the Dean of York, the episcopal functions being discharged by Hugh Pudsay, Bishop of Durham, who, previously to his accession to that see, had been one of the *quatuor personæ* of the Church of York. During the vacancy an important matter was settled as regarded the claims of the see of York to jurisdiction over the Scottish sees. It was declared by Pope Clement that Scotland should be independent of every authority save that of Rome, Whitherne being the only see which was left under the authority of York.

In 1191 the see of York was at last filled up by

the consecration of Geoffry Plantagenet, an illegitimate son of Henry II. His ecclesiastical career furnishes an instance of that scandalous abuse of Church patronage which was one of the most crying sins of the middle ages. As a mere child he was made Archdeacon of Lincoln, and when not more than fourteen years of age his father procured his election to the bishopric of that see, and its revenues were actually received by him until 1181. The pope then declared that he must either be ordained or forego all rights and claims in respect of the bishopric of Lincoln. Geoffry preferred the latter alternative. The freedom of a layman's life was more to his taste than the restraints of the ecclesiastic state. Yet he was soon provided with other preferments. Amongst these were the archdeaconry of Rouen, the treasurer-ship of York, and the chancellorship of England.

Not long after his father's death (1189) he was nominated to the see of York, which he accepted somewhat reluctantly. He was eventually consecrated at Tours on Aug. 18th, 1191. No sooner was he seated in the chair of York than feud after feud took place with Bishop Pudsey, who owed Geoffry a bitter grudge for having obtained an order from the pope that he should render obedience to the see of York. In consequence of this Pudsey refused to obey Geoffry's summons to attend a provincial synod in which he was to render an account of procurations received from Allertonshire and Howdenshire. He absented himself also when Geoffry was enthroned. Dissensions arose likewise, time after time, with the Dean and canons. The

Archbishop raised the spiritual arm. Bishop Pudsey and the refractory chapter of York were, each in their turn, excommunicated. This seems to have been a weapon which Geoffry was always ready to employ. Appeals were made to Rome, and the relations between Geoffry and his chapter, and with his haughty suffragan, became embittered to the last degree. It was even alleged that the Archbishop had employed some one to poison the Dean and some of the more obnoxious canons. One of his feuds with the chapter arose out of Richard I.'s request to Geoffry that he should do all he could to assist in raising the enormous ransom which was required to release him from his imprisonment in the Tyrol. Geoffry demanded one fourth of their annual revenue from the dean and canons. This they utterly refused, charged him with an attempt to destroy the liberties of the Church of St. Peter, and closed the minster against him. Their refusal was in part owing to the Archbishop claiming to appoint to the deanery, which was vacated in 1194, the chapter adhering to their right of electing their own superior. The pope set aside the claims of both, and gave it of his own authority to Simon of Apulia. The chapter retorted by laying before the apostolic see a long list of complaints of Geoffry's utter neglect of his spiritual functions. He hawked and he hunted, but he neither held ordinations, consecrations, or synods, set the liberties of the minster utterly at naught, gave benefices to boys, and if any one suggested an appeal to Rome he was thrown into prison. Pope Celestine issued a commission of inquiry. During its

prosecution many complications arose. Geoffry was suspended for not appearing at Rome in obedience to the papal mandate. In the end, however, he was acquitted and restored to his archbishopric.

The complaints of the Dean and canons were probably not made without some foundation, yet a record remains which shows that Geoffry was not absolutely devoid of sympathy with those who sought to promote the spiritual good of his people. Eustace, Abbot of Flay, in Normandy, was a friend and companion of Fulk de Neuilly, that bold preacher whose stern rebuke to Richard Cœur de Lion respecting his three besetting sins, and Richard's reply, have been so often told. Eustace came to England in 1200 to preach the word of God, and was supposed to have wrought many miracles. He preached at Romney. He did the like in London. His chief mission seems to have been to promote a better observance of the Lord's Day, seeking to do away with Sunday trading. He exhorted also on the subject of almsgiving, and tried to induce the wealthier classes always to have a dish on their tables to receive portions of food at each meal for distribution to the poor and needy. But he met with much opposition and returned to Normandy. The following year he renewed his efforts, making York his mission centre. Archbishop Geoffry, with the clergy and people of the city, received him with all respect and honour. It is the one bright spot in the narrative of Geoffry's acts, the only one which seems to identify him with any care for the spiritual welfare of his diocese. Eustace's efforts were directed to the same end as

in London. In York, we are told, he made many converts. He repeated his counsel about the alms-dish on the table at meals, and urged the setting up of trunks or coffers in all parish churches to receive the offerings of the faithful for the relief of the poor and needy; and he urgently impressed upon them the sin they committed by buying and selling their wares in the churches, or their porches of entrance. The Lord's Day was to be reckoned from the ninth hour of Saturday until sunrise on Monday.

When John became king on the death of his brother Richard in 1199, the relations between him and Archbishop Geoffry were at first friendly. But dissensions soon arose. One quarrel followed another, alternating with temporary periods of amity. At last an irreparable breach took place when John demanded a thirteenth of movables from the whole country. When the proposition for levying this obnoxious tax was laid before the council, it was vigorously resisted by Geoffry, but the king persisted in exacting it. The Archbishop excommunicated those who attempted to collect it within the northern province. But he appears to have found that the attitude he had taken was not unlikely to endanger his own personal safety, for he soon afterwards left England, retiring probably to Normandy, where he had considerable possessions which had been given him by his father. In Normandy he died, in 1212. When he left England the king took possession of the temporalities of the see, and they were retained by him until the appointment of Geoffry's successor.

CHAPTER XI.

MUCH interesting matter as regards the state of the diocese and the work of its ruler is presented by the history of Walter de Gray, who comes next in succession to Geoffry, and was assuredly one of the most distinguished prelates who ever occupied the archiepiscopal throne of York. He was a man of high connections, and early in life obtained many ecclesiastical preferments through the favour of King John. In 1213 we find him made bishop of Worcester. In 1215 John gave permission to the chapter of York to proceed to an election, with a strong hint that it would be acceptable to him if the bishop of Worcester were appointed. They preferred Simon de Langton, brother of the famous Archbishop of Canterbury, but the pope, at the king's instigation, rejected him. Gray was then suggested, and on him the pope bestowed the pall, but it is said that the assent of the supreme pontiff was not procured without a payment of the prodigious sum of £10,000.

Gray held many offices of state. He was a chancellor under John, whose interests he seems always to have consulted. In the great controversy with the barons as to the granting of the Great Charter, he was on the side of the king, though it does not appear that he offered any active opposition to the demand made for that great constitutional compact with the

king. The clergy generally, with Stephen Langton at their head, were all on the side of English freedom, and the first article of the Great Charter announced their will that the Church of England should enjoy her ancient liberty. It was a protest, no doubt, against illegal interference on the part of the sovereign, but it was a protest also against the interference and the exactions of the Court of Rome.

After the death of John, Archbishop Gray became one of the most trusted advisers of his son, Henry III., and was engaged in almost all the affairs of state, both at home and abroad, during many years of that sovereign's reign. But he was not unmindful of his own peculiar responsibilities as the ecclesiastical ruler of a great diocese. It is in that light that we have especially here to regard him. For this there is abundance of material in his great Archiepiscopal Register, one of the most ancient records of the kind in existence in this country. The systematic registration of the various acts relating to the diocese was probably a following out by Gray of the mode adopted for recording the patent and close rolls of the kingdom; the idea of which was taken in the first instance from the papal registry, the method and arrangement of which were ere long imitated throughout Europe.

When Gray came to the diocese he found that it had been neglected in many ways. Jealousies and contentions abounded on all sides, but his energy was great, and his administrative capacity was equally conspicuous. One of the most fertile sources of dissatisfaction existing at this time in the English Church was the growing evil of a claim on the part of the

pope to dispose of vacant benefices. It was constantly urged by the legates. It was a gradual and stealthy process by which this abuse crept in. In the first instance individuals were recommended, but *preces* soon became *mandata*, and now, in the thirteenth century, the pope's commands on the subject were issued in the most peremptory manner. Preferment after preferment was given in this way to foreigners, chiefly Italians. The lists of incumbents of many of the Yorkshire benefices, and particularly those of the occupants of stalls in the Minster, show unmistakably how persistently the claim was made. So strong was the feeling in Yorkshire against this system, especially with reference to its interference with the rights of lay patrons, that an outbreak took place, headed by a knight called Robert de Thweng, for the purpose of seizing upon certain benefices held by these strangers—a proceeding which Gregory IX. took much to heart, and issued a commission to Archbishop Gray, the bishop of Durham, and John Romanus, treasurer of York, to excommunicate the offenders. Romanus himself was one of the sufferers, and had been in considerable peril. The system had become too deeply rooted for Gray to do much against it. The only point he seems to have gained was to be released from the obligation of attending to such papal provisions as were not specially directed to himself; a system having crept in of the pope claiming the right to present to benefices vacated by the death of such of their occupants as died at the papal court, a thing which very often happened. But the intrusion of foreigners into English benefices

went on in spite of all opposition, until Edward III. struck a final blow against it by the famous statute of Provisors.

The Archbishop's policy in the government of his diocese was evidently not of an autocratic character. The clergy were much brought into consultation. A diocesan synod met twice in each year, probably in conformity with the decrees of the Lateran council in 1215. Much useful work was also done by the ruri-decanal chapters. In matters affecting the English Church at large, the convocations of the Northern and Southern provinces met together for joint deliberation. An interesting testimony to this practice occurs in a letter written by Gray and his suffragans to Henry III. in 1252.¹

The visitation by the archdeacons of the parishes within the limits of their several districts was a reality. They inspected the fabrics of the churches, examined into the question of dilapidations, and made careful inquiry as to the due supply of all that was needful for the due celebration of Divine offices. "The clergy were required to entertain the archdeacon and a limited suite, and were charged with a certain yearly sum for this expenditure."

Besides the general council, if we may so term it, at which all the clergy assisted in the diocesan synod, and the lesser meetings within each rural deanery, the Archbishop evidently had an intimate conciliar relation with his chapter. He appears to have applied to Honorius III. suggesting that he should authorise

¹ "Archbishop Gray's Register," p. 211. (Pub. Surtees Soc.)

the *quatuor personæ majores* of the Minster—that is to say, the Dean, Precentor, Chancellor, and Treasurer of the church, to be in occasional attendance upon him *in consiliis*. The papal sanction was obtained for the purpose of dispensing with the continual residence which their duties in the church involved. That they were often with him, as well as representatives from the chapters of Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell, is evidenced by the frequent occurrence of their names as witnesses to the Archbishop's official acts.

The matter of clerical celibacy comes prominently forward in Gray's episcopate. It was no new subject. The marriage of the clergy had been denounced, as we all know, by Hildebrand, and at the national council, held in London in 1102, it was strenuously condemned by Anselm and Gerard of York, as also at other councils in 1126 and 1127 by William of Canterbury and Thurstan. But in the Northern Province the marriage of the clergy held its ground for a long time. It was clearly a common practice in Gray's time, and it perpetuated an absolute abuse. Benefices became hereditary. The endowments of the church were treated as family property, to be dealt with as their occupants chose. Apart, therefore, from the religious or ascetic view of the question, this was a matter which required repression by a strong hand. And it was vigorously dealt with. "In 1221 Honorius III. wrote to Archbishop Gray desiring him to remove from their livings the married clergy and all who had succeeded their fathers in their preferments, a similar order being directed to the

bishops of Lincoln and Worcester, two dioceses in which the York influence was more or less strong."¹ A number of instances occur amongst the records of Gray's episcopate showing the care he took to carry out the pope's injunction. It gradually died out by the middle of the thirteenth century.

Other matters affecting the temporal welfare of the Church in his diocese were dealt with. Lay patrons seem to have exercised an extraordinary amount of power over the property of the Church. Livings were divided into medieties, the result, probably, of a division of the lord's own estate between heiresses, or the disposal of a portion of it to some other proprietor. The assignment of a suitable proportion of Church property followed the division or accompanied the purchase. The lay patron had the power, moreover, to assign pensions or portions out of the livings in his gift, and present to them, and to allot the tithes in like manner. "It was not unusual for three or four persons to have a pecuniary interest in one and the same living, a state of things which would lead to pauperise the benefice, and lessen the responsibility of each person connected with it." Against these abuses Gray steadfastly set his face. He dealt also with another abuse. The monastic bodies often absorbed the tithes and rents of a living without making any fixed provision for the performance of divine offices in the Church. To meet this he took care that vicarages should be settled and endowed.

Another work which he took in hand was an increase in the number of chapels or oratories. The

¹ Gray's "Register," Pref., p. xxix.

area of many of the parishes was very wide, rendering the attendance of the parishioners at their church in many cases practically impossible, whilst the ministrations of religion to the sick and dying were for the same reason oftentimes unsought, or very inefficiently discharged. The Archbishop pointed these things out to Gregory IX., who cordially responded to his suggestions and gave all the weight of his authority to the multiplication of these houses of prayer in the outlying hamlets of scattered parishes. The priests appointed to serve them were to reside in the places where they were built, and pensions were to be assigned for their maintenance. Many of these are now distinct and separate benefices.

We do not find that Gray bestowed much upon the monasteries. His chief munificence was displayed in the gifts he bestowed upon the Church of York. To him succeeding Archbishops have been indebted for the stately dwelling which is now the only residence attached to the see. The walls of Bishopthorpe still show some trace of his hand in their architecture, indicating that he was the "builder of a mansion as well as the buyer of the estate." He provided also a town house at Westminster, but it has long passed out of the hands of his successors. At Ripon the western front of the minster is in all probability due to his munificence, and the stall of Stanwick in that church was endowed by him. In the Minster of York the sub-deanery and the sub-chantorship of the canons were founded in his time; the stall of Wistow established and that of Weighton

revived. To Archbishop Gray is also due one of the noblest features of that stately church, the south transept of the minster. Both transepts belong to his period, but the northern one is the earlier. It is ascribed to John Romanus, who became sub-dean in 1228. Both are of the best and most characteristic style of Early English. Both have east and west aisles, which wonderfully enhance the picturesqueness of their effect. In the southern transept, as Professor Willis has remarked, "the pier arch under which the tomb stands is made wider than the other, apparently to give it importance." The tomb he refers to is that of Gray, and is in the centre of the chantry which he founded in 1241, and in which in all probability it was his wish to be interred. Gray issued the first archiepiscopal indulgence for the fabric of the minster which is on record. It is dated 18th July, 1227.

The chantry founded by Archbishop Gray is one amongst very many of those foundations which date from the thirteenth century. Their number increased rapidly at this time, not only in the minster, but in parish churches, and as separate foundations; the offspring of a pious regard for the souls of the departed, an outcome of that belief in purgatory which became so firmly fixed throughout the western Church at an early period of the middle ages. Belief in the efficacy of the sacrifice of the altar for the dead as well as the living led naturally to the special celebration of masses for the souls of the former. It was a natural wish—it was a pious hope, that the prayers of the priest when engaged in his

holiest function should benefit those who had passed out of this world. But "that which was a mercy, a consolation, became a trade, an inexhaustible source of wealth. Praying souls out of purgatory by masses said on their behalf became an ordinary office, an office which deserved, which could demand, which did demand, the most prodigal remuneration."¹ In the thirteenth and down to the end of the fifteenth century the foundation of a chantry, or the endowment of a chantry priest, or a legacy for so many masses to be said within a specified time, was the commonest form in which remorse and compunction found vent, or death-bed repentance sought expression. The minsters of York, Ripon, and Beverley were full of them. A college was founded hard by the minster as an abode for the chantry priests who sang their masses within its walls, whilst there was scarcely a village church in which there was not a little chantry chapel, or the end of an aisle screened off by its parclose, for a like celebration.

Foundations of another kind were established from time to time with an ungrudging liberality. The ancient Church of this country never forgot the claims of poverty and sickness. Hospitals abounded. They provided asylums for the poor and the afflicted, the leper and the bed-ridden, the lame and the blind. They stood by the way-side to shelter and refresh the weary traveller. There is an interesting record in existence, respecting a hospital at Northallerton, which gives a sort of picture of what were un-

¹ Milman's "Latin Christianity," ix. p. 82.

doubtedly the internal arrangements of many similar houses. It bears the date of 1244.¹ The government of the hospital was vested in a warden, who was allowed a serving-man, two foot-boys and three horses. Two chaplains, each with his clerk, had charge of the spiritual welfare of its inmates. A baker and a brewer, with a boy to help, and a cook with his kitchen-boy formed part of the household. Five brethren, who might be either clerics or laymen, had each his allotted work in house and garden; one being specially charged with the care of the sick and bed-ridden. The comfort of the latter was further consulted by their being placed, especially in the night season, under the gentle ministry of female hands. Three who wore the dress and followed the rule of a sisterhood were attached to the hospital. Two of them watched by the sick at night when need required, and all were to take a share in turn of household work. Beds were provided for thirteen sick or infirm poor, who were to be tended *humaniter*, and provided with delicate and tempting food until either health returned or death released them from earthly suffering. Day by day at eventide thirty poor persons were relieved at the gate with half a loaf of bread each and a mess of pottage. If any were too weak or infirm to proceed on their journey or to get back to their home, they had a night's lodging given them in the *hospitium* alongside the gate. The size of the loaves is particularised. A bushel of flour was to be made into twenty-five

¹ Gray's "Register," p. 180.

loaves. If the possessions of the hospital increased in value, a corresponding augmentation was to be made in the alms given to the poor travellers who sought relief at the gate, and to those who were lying on their bed of sickness within.

Leprosy was then a terrible scourge, caused to a great extent, and certainly perpetuated, by overcrowding in the towns, the absolute lack of all sanitary arrangements, and the uncleanly habits and bad food of their inhabitants. Several hospitals for lepers existed in York, and there were many others for the special reception of persons so afflicted in other parts of the diocese. The wills of the period contain constant legacies to the various hospitals. A touching bequest occurs in one for the relief of blind, leprous, or otherwise afflicted priests who could no longer minister at the altar of God.

Archbishop Gray died on the 1st of May, 1255, after having filled his high office nearly forty years with singular vigour and the most systematic discharge of duty.

Some time before his episcopate ended, a great religious movement had reached England and extended itself to the diocese over which he ruled. It does not appear from any of his official acts that he showed either sympathy or its reverse with respect to that remarkable body who, under the name of Franciscans, Minorite, or Black and Grey Friars, exercised so powerful an influence and obtained so prominent a position during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They settled in England in 1224, before the death of their founder, and appear to have been in York

as early as 1227. In that year there is a grant from Henry III. to the Friars Preachers of a portion of land called Kingestoftes by York. In the following year another grant is made to them. At this period the great monastic societies of the Benedictine and Cistercian orders had, to a great extent, lost their hold upon the affections of the people. Whatever amount of science and learning existed, had, no doubt, been preserved by them. They had cultivated the arts of peace ; they had encouraged architecture ; they had built bridges ; they had made roads ; they had fed the poor. The Cistercians, in particular, had brought great intelligence to bear upon the cultivation of land, and had promoted habits of industry amongst the tillers of the soil, but they could no longer be recognised as the self-denying teachers of a pure morality or as setting before the eyes of the people a visible standard of exalted holiness. The enthusiastic devotion and ascetic lives which distinguished the earlier monks of Fountains and of Rievaulx, and which won the affections and commanded the veneration of a whole people, had given place to more mundane characteristics. Munificent benefactors had, in days gone by, given them wide tracts of land which their untiring industry had tilled, and whose hill-sides and pastures their care had covered with exceeding many flocks and herds. They were famous as wool-growers, and made large consignments to the merchants of Flanders. The monastic barns which still exist here and there give some idea of the amount of agricultural produce which they laid up in their garner. The monks were enterprising in another way also.

They had mines and smelting furnaces. A grant was made in the reign of Stephen to the monks of Byland of as much iron ore as would supply one furnace, and fuel out of the grantor's wood at Emley. The monks of Kirkstead, in Lincolnshire, had bloomeries [smelting furnaces] on the borders of Ecclesfield and Rotherham. Large heaps of scoria yet remain to indicate the spot where their furnaces were situated. Traces also remain at Rievaulx of the iron-works which were carried on in immediate proximity to the abbey.

Wealth was the natural result of their industry and the fruit of their care. And wealth became the parent of luxury and the root of idleness. The monastic bodies were civilisers and humanisers, undoubtedly, but as societies, however eminent the piety of individuals amongst them, they had ceased to be a spiritual and religious power. The same thing may be said with regard to the secular clergy. The temporal wealth of the benefices and high dignities of the Church led to their being regarded simply as sources of revenue, as much so, in fact, as though they had been lay fiefs. Boys often received presentations to livings, and non-resident incumbents, many of them foreigners, received the income of benefices which they never saw, the duties of which were discharged by badly-paid vicars.

Individual bishops did their best oftentimes to enforce discipline, but it was a hopeless and ungrateful task, and as it regarded the Cistercian order in particular the papal exemptions which from time to time were granted to them made them independent

of all episcopal interference. And as to the bishops themselves, too many of them were taken up with secular work as high officers of state, and paid little regard to the higher duties of their spiritual functions.

The population of the towns was at this time increasing, and clusters of miserable hovels constituted their suburbs. Undrained, close, and ill-ventilated, they were the hot-beds of disease. Fever and leprosy were constant visitants. In these squalid localities the friars established their houses. They were missionaries preaching to the poor, living like them, clothed like them, content with such subsistence as was afforded by the alms bestowed upon them ; which, at the outset, were far more the offerings of the poor than the gifts of the wealthy. They nursed and tended the leper with an unmercenary charity, and were constant in their endeavour to alleviate every form of human misery. Their popularity was immense and their spread most rapid. Within thirty years after the Franciscans arrived in England, their number amounted to 1,242, and they had forty-nine convents in various localities, of which York was one. Matthew Paris tells us what they were in the fervour and devotion which marked their first appearance :—"They filled the land, dwelling in cities and towns by tens and sevens, having literally no worldly goods of any kind, living of the Gospel. They ate the food and they wore the raiment which marked the extremity of poverty ; they went about barefooted, showing a pattern to all of the very deepest humility. On Sundays and holy days they issued from their lowly dwellings and offered their services as preachers of the Word of Life in the

parish churches. They ate and drank whatever was set before them by those to whom they ministered. Deep was their insight into heavenly things, for their spiritual vision was unclouded by any attachment to this lower world or any sympathy with its vain and fleeting pleasures. They make it a rule to reserve nothing in the shape of food for the wants of the morrow, in order that the humility of spirit which rules them within may have an outward expression which may be recognised of all."¹

It is almost needless to say that they soon had convents in all the larger towns in Yorkshire, such as Hull, Beverley, and Scarborough. One thing is very striking as a proof of the feeling which existed towards them. During all the long period from the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth, from the humblest person who has anything to bequeath to the lordly baron with his wide extent of manors, scarcely a single will is to be found which does not contain some bequest of varying amount to the houses of the friars.

Their social influence did not arise wholly from their loving charity to the sick and the poor. Another power was brought to bear with singular effect upon the popular mind. The friars were great as preachers. Preaching had, no doubt, been much neglected by the parochial clergy, whose spiritual work was, for the most part, confined to the hearing of confessions and the celebration of mass. And where it was not laid aside it probably was not presented in a very attractive form. Injunctions were often issued by bishops that

¹ Matthew Paris, p. 296 (ed. 1571).

the parish priests should give instruction to their people on the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the seven works of mercy, and the seven deadly sins. In many cases the result, in all likelihood, was a very dry and unfervid exposition of faith and duty. The style of the friars' preaching had all the charm of novelty. It was dramatic, it was familiar ; homely in diction, fertile in illustration. They related anecdotes, and brought a story or a fable to bear upon the Scripture lesson which they sought to teach. Crowds came to listen, and their rude and homely eloquence contributed not a little to advance civilisation by teaching those who occupied the lower strata of the body politic to think and to reason. The popular mind was further elevated by the representation of the miracle plays, which were due to the friars, and which, with all their coarseness, and what appears to us their irreverent dealing with sacred subjects, are entitled to no small amount of respect as the precursors of those great dramas which are the richest heritage of the literature of England. The monastic bodies and the secular clergy viewed the friars with ill-concealed aversion. The latter, on their side, were not slow to expose the weak places in the parochial and monastic systems, and to inflame popular prejudice against them by fervid denunciations against the dissoluteness, the sloth, and the pride of the priests and the monks.

At the outset of the order, learning was discredited by their founder. The use of books was, in fact, forbidden. But it was soon found that human learning was a necessity, and within a very few years after their

arrival in England, Agnellus of Pisa, the first Provincial in this country, built a school at Oxford and induced Grostete, afterwards the famous bishop of Lincoln, to read lectures to the brethren. Under his instruction they made wonderful progress; the mother-wit of their sermons derived point and method from the learning of the schools; "political and social questions found place in them side by side with spiritual matters; and the rudest countryman learned his tale of a king's oppression or a patriot's hopes as he listened to the rambling, passionate, humorous discourse of the begging friar."¹

Their cultivation of literature was a necessity, but they soon departed from their founder's rule in another point, adherence to which would have secured a respectful admiration if not an absolute sympathy. The austere self-denial of voluntary poverty ceased to exist. "In defiance of the vow of absolute poverty," says Dean Milman, "the Franciscans vied in wealth with the older and less rigorous orders. Mendicancy, their vital principle, had long ceased to be content with the scanty boon of hard fare and coarse clothing; it grasped at lands and the cost at least of splendid buildings."² The result was odium as great as had been their early popularity. The satirical writers of the period soon began to pour contempt and ridicule upon the friars. The unanimity of their attacks leads irresistibly to the conclusion that they cannot have been altogether undeserved.

¹ Green's "History," i. p. 266.

² "Latin Christianity," v. p. 213.

CHAPTER XII.

LITTLE of interest as regards the work of the diocese is recorded concerning Archbishop Gray's immediate successors, excepting the efforts that were made by Archbishops Giffard and Wickwaine to reform abuses. The latter, in particular, was a rigid disciplinarian, and carried out a systematic visitation of the monastic houses, which had fallen into a state of the extremest laxity. It was found, for example, that the abbot of Selby neither sang mass, nor preached, nor attended chapter; rarely entered the choir, and scarcely ever heard matins, except in his bed, and was, moreover, grossly incontinent. The Archbishop's reforming zeal led him likewise to seek to reform abuses, or, at all events, to inquire if any existed, in the great monastery of Durham. But he met the most determined resistance. The prior of Durham would have none of his interference. The Archbishop retorted by a sentence of excommunication, which was little heeded. He persevered in his attempts. Again and again he sought to obtain submission from the prior, but in vain. On his last visit to Durham he was so roughly handled that he was fain to make a hasty retreat from the church of St. Nicholas to the hospital of Kepier, and the ear of his unfortunate palfrey was cut off in the struggle that attended his escape. After this we

do not hear of any further attempt to reform the monks of Durham.

Wickwaine is said by Stubbs to have been "a great builder of churches, and that the greater part of the places of worship within his diocese were consecrated during his archiepiscopate."

Before the end of the thirteenth century we meet with an important record belonging to the architectural history of the minster. At the commencement of that century it was a Norman building, of well-proportioned scale, the eastern end being in a more enriched style than the western, but both of the same architectural type, and thus, as a whole, homogeneous. But the Early English transepts which were erected during Archbishop Gray's episcopate were on a scale of much greater magnificence, and were doubtless intended to be the beginning of an entire transformation of the Church. Professor Willis assigns the date of 1247 as that of the completion of the transepts. In 1291 the foundation-stone of a new nave was laid by Archbishop Romanus with great pomp and ceremony, in the presence of the dean and canons. We learn from Stubbs that it was begun on the south side towards the east. The wall of the south aisle, where it joins the Early English transept, was the starting-point, therefore, of this magnificent work. The walls of both aisles were probably built without disturbing at the time the Norman nave, a plan which, as Professor Willis points out, is recorded by Gervase as having been adopted at Canterbury. Of the progress of the new nave we have no written record except the indulgences granted by successive prelates during the time in which it was advancing to

its completion. Great efforts were made from time to time to secure funds for the great undertaking. The fabric derived a considerable yearly sum from the penancers of the church. Offenders were often punished by the infliction of a fine, on payment of which absolution was given. It was the business of the penancers to determine the amount of the fine and hand it over to the keeper of the fabric. There was also another source which, in the aggregate, did much to swell the fabric fund—namely, the bequests which we find in the wills of the period. These were very numerous, and in their varying amounts, and the different *status* of those who bequeathed them, they show how deep and widespread was the interest taken, from one century to another, in the rearing of that magnificent structure. The great baron and the wealthy churchman leave their £40 or their £20, a clerk of lesser degree his half-mark, whilst a husbandman bequeaths his shilling, and it is somewhat affecting to find a poor leper in the hospital at Monk-bridge leaving his sixpence to the works which were going on at the great mother-church of York.¹ Briefs for the same object were issued, to be published by the parochial clergy in their churches, the bearers of these briefs being duly authorised by a formal license. Large sums of money were gathered by these means.

There is no documentary evidence fixing the precise date of the singularly beautiful and graceful work of the chapter-house, but it must have gone on simultaneously with the nave, yet from the character of its magnificent geometrical tracery it is obvious

¹ If we multiply by 15 we shall arrive at something like the value of these bequests in modern currency.

that it must have been completed before the upper part of the west front, in which flowing tracery is introduced. It is certainly the most beautiful chapter-house existing in England, a distinction which is proudly challenged by the rhyming inscription which yet survives on one of the walls of its entrance :—
Ut Rosa flos florum sic est domus ista domorum.

Romanus was not altogether happy in various matters connected with his archiepiscopal office. The papal provisions were a cruel thorn in his side, some of the best preferments in his church and diocese being given to foreigners. In one instance he made a bold and successful resistance. Pope Nicholas III. gave the stall of Fenton, in York, to a nephew who was a cardinal-deacon and head of a hospital at Rome. The cardinal obtained his uncle's consent to the appropriation of this stall to the hospital over which he presided. This was an unheard-of exercise of arbitrary power, and a blow to the independence of the English Church. It was resisted by the Archbishop with great spirit. The matter was also taken up by the king, and the opposition was so strong that the claim was at last abandoned.

The Archbishop had feuds also with the dean and canons. He took measures to deprive the former of his deanery and sundry other great preferments, for causes which must have been deemed of weight, inasmuch as the dean consented to resign on the receipt of an annual pension. His quarrel with the chapter was on the question of his right to hold a visitation of the minster. The matter was laid before the king, and the result was an order for its being

settled by arbitration. The Archbishop was to visit, but *in propriâ personâ* only, once in five years. Canonical obedience was to be rendered by the Dean. The Archbishop was to enter the chapter-house unattended by chaplains or clerks, two canons sworn to secrecy being the only persons allowed to act with him. Any canon then might make his complaints. If a fault were proved, six months were allowed wherein to amend it, and in case of default the Archbishop was to award proper punishment in the Chapter-house with advice of the canons.

He had also a desperate struggle with Bec, the great Bishop of Durham, with reference to the subjection of that see to York. Messenger after messenger was sent with citations, which were treated with contempt and the messengers imprisoned. The Archbishop excommunicated the refractory prelate. But he found that too bold a step. Bec was with the king in Scotland, and the latter regarded it as an insult to his own royal prerogative. Romanus was made to understand that if he wanted his messengers released he should have proceeded against Bec in the king's courts. Bec was a temporal prince, and had imprisoned the men in the exercise of his palatine jurisdiction, with which the Archbishop could in no wise interfere, and he was obliged to submit himself to the king's pleasure and pay a fine of 4,000 marks.

With the commencement of the 14th century a succession of statesmen Archbishops arose. Greenfield, Melton, and Zouche were all of this type. The importance of the city of York at this period was great.

It was flourishing as a commercial city. A class of wealthy merchants and rich tradesmen had sprung up, and the craft that came up the Ouse from Hull made it a busy inland port. The wills of the period contain marked indications of the wealth, the luxury, and to some extent the refinement which existed amongst the clergy, the merchants, and the tradesmen of the city and its neighbourhood, all showing the pre-eminence it had attained as a seat of trade and commerce. Owing to the wars with Scotland it became a military centre. It was a political centre also. In 1298 Edward I. held a parliament there, and the courts of justice were removed from London and sat in York for seven years. Parliaments were also held there in 1299 and 1300, and for a time it was almost the capital of England. The high position which the Archbishop occupied led to his being perforce involved in the negotiations with Scotland, and also in the wars by which they were constantly interrupted.

A question naturally suggests itself when we see those who occupied the highest dignities of the Church employed in secular work of various kinds, presiding over courts of justice, acting as ambassadors or diplomatists at some foreign court, and even proving their capacity as military leaders in the field,—how fared it with the flock which had been entrusted to their pastoral care? what oversight did they exercise over the priests and the people who had been solemnly committed to their episcopal charge? Viewing the matter as we now do, the anomaly was monstrous, but it would not then be so looked upon. As regarded judicial and diplomatic appointments, the clergy were the

only class of men whose education fitted them to fill them, and the vast territorial possessions of prelates, like the Archbishops of York and the Bishops of Durham, placed them in positions which involved, almost of necessity, from their proximity to Scotland, no little attention to the *res militaris*. The routine work of the diocese, such as ordinations, consecration of churches and cemeteries, and the like, was committed by the Archbishops to the care of a suffragan, commonly the poorly-endowed bishop of Whitherne, who was badly paid and too often treated with scant courtesy by the great prelate whom he served. When the chair of York was filled by a primate of great capacity, other things were more carefully dealt with than might have been looked for. We gain a knowledge of this from the episcopal registers. Attempts were made from time to time to enforce discipline, to punish the refractory, and to promote order, not only in the cloister, or in the case of the secular priest, but likewise as regarded such of the laity as committed grave offences against decency and morality. Curious illustrations occur here and there of practices which had crept in, and of the attitude taken by the Archbishop respecting them. In Greenfield's time, for example, we find a mandate addressed to the Chapter of Ripon, forbidding them to hold markets in the minster. An image of the Blessed Virgin had been set up in the church of Foston, and crowds had flocked to it in the belief that some peculiar virtues resided in that particular piece of sculpture. The Archbishop prohibits the adoration of the image. It is a remarkable anticipation of the feeling which

subsequently assumed so strong a form. He issues a citation to the vicar-general of Cardinal Gaetano, the archdeacon of Richmond, concerning the undue burden to which the clergy of that archdeaconry were subjected, when he was on his visitation. They had been compelled, it seems, to find entertainment for his train of fifteen and sometimes four-and-twenty horsemen, each of whom had his dog following him ready for a hunt whenever a stag or a roe-deer might spring from a covert on the road side. And we find penances assigned in many cases where persons of no mean rank amongst the laity had fallen into grievous sin.

The episcopate of Archbishop Melton was a troubled time for the diocese, owing to the forays of the Scottish marauders, who ravaged many of the towns and did incalculable mischief to the churches and religious houses. It witnessed the rout at Myton on the Swale, that battle which was called "the Chapter of Myton" from the number of clergy whom his influence pressed into the ranks to oppose the Scots, with an undisciplined zeal which utterly failed to achieve its object. It witnessed also the battle of Boroughbridge, and the fall of the great Earl of Lancaster, whose execution within sight of his own castle of Pontefract excited such a wonderful amount of sorrow and sympathy in the minds of the people of the North. They regarded him as a saint, but Melton, who failed to view him in that light, issued more than one injunction forbidding the offering of prayer at his tomb.

In connection with the Minster Melton's name will

always be remembered. He lived to witness the completion of the nave, the western end of which, with the flowing tracery of its great window, and the beautiful glass with which it is filled, is his work. "The nave of York," says Rickman, "from the uncommon grandeur and simplicity of the design, is certainly the finest example" of the decorated style; "ornament is nowhere spared, yet there is a simplicity which is peculiarly pleasing." Melton did much also for the Minster of Beverley.

William la Zouche succeeded Melton in 1340. He was another of those great ecclesiastics who were also distinguished statesmen. He was in the service of the king in early life and had many preferments. He was elected as their dean by the canons of York in 1336, and was constantly employed in various capacities by Edward III. In 1346 he was one of the wardens of the marches, and commanded one of the divisions of the English army at the great battle of Neville's Cross.

But he was soon called upon to act in a different capacity, and to do battle, as he best might, with a more terrible foe. That fearful plague called the Black Death reached England in 1349. It began in the East, it advanced into Europe, and after devastating the countries of the continent it came at last to our own shores. More than half the population of England were swept away by that fearful scourge, and the country was filled with consternation. Whilst the dark cloud was yet gathering in the distance, and before the fury of the storm broke upon the subjects of his spiritual rule, Zouche wrote

like a Christian pastor to warn them of its near approach, to remind them of God's sore judgments upon the sins of men, and to order that in every church and religious house throughout his diocese, processions, litanies, and prayers should be made that it might please God to avert the pestilence and succour his people. It fell with terrible severity, in the country districts as well as in the crowded towns. The existing churchyards were insufficient, and the Archbishop of Damascus, who was acting as suffragan, was sent in all haste to consecrate new cemeteries. Pope Clement VI. wrote to the Archbishop of York and gave permission to every person to choose his own confessor, the strictness of parochial order being abrogated for the time. He also allowed him to hold supplementary ordinations to fill the gaps which the pestilence had made in the ranks of the clergy, for they had fallen like the leaves in autumn, and there were not priests enough remaining in the parishes within the northern province to administer the sacraments of the Church. The serious social results of this terrible visitation, the utter disorganization it created in the labouring class, the scarcity which resulted from large tracts of land being thrown out of cultivation, and the strife that followed between capital and labour, are matters of history, but it is beyond our province to enter into their details.

In the year that witnessed the arrival of this pestilence in England occurred the death of one whose religious writings were singularly popular for a long series of years—Richard Rolle, better known as

Richard of Hampole, the name of a small hamlet, not far from Doncaster, which was the seat of a Cistercian nunnery. At a hermitage near Hampole he lived a life of great austerity and devotion. Scarcely anything is known of his early history, except that he retired from the world about the beginning of Edward III.'s reign. He was a prolific writer, mostly in Latin. His works comprise commentaries on Scripture and on the offices of the Church. But by far the most valuable and interesting portion of his writings are those in his own mother-tongue, not only philologically, but as throwing light upon the religious feeling and mode of thought of the period. He is chiefly known by his long poem called the "Pricke of Conscience." In this he draws a fearful picture of the state of the world, which, as he believed, was fast approaching its end, and gives appalling descriptions of death, the terrors which accompanied the dying hour, even in the case of good men, and the torments of condemned souls. Penitential discipline, austerity, and gloom are the boundaries of the narrow horizon of his life, which is scarcely brightened by a ray of tender or happy feeling. He wrote many prose works, also, in the vernacular, amongst them "Piti Job," and a translation of the whole Book of Psalms. One of his treatises is on the active and contemplative life, addressed apparently to some lady of rank and wealth. It is interesting to find the austere hermit telling her that her way of serving God was not by a withdrawal from the world into a monastery, but by the diligent performance of life's active duties. Numerous copies of his works

exist in MS., and several were printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

The prelate who succeeded Zouche claims more than a few passing words, for he was one of the most eminent of those who have occupied the chair of Paulinus, in learning, in munificence, and, above all, in his earnest zeal for the spiritual well-being of all who were under his pastoral charge. John de Thoresby was a Yorkshireman, and a scion of an honourable house. After filling many high positions, he was advanced successively to the sees of St. David's and Worcester. On the death of Zouche he became Archbishop of York, in 1352. With a rare disinterestedness he divested himself as soon as it was practicable of all secular employments that he might devote himself with singleness of aim to the spiritual work of his great diocese. His first efforts seem to have been directed to bringing to a final close the controversy which had for centuries embittered the mutual relations between York and Canterbury. Through the king's intervention the two Archbishops met at Westminster, and it was arranged that each Archbishop should bear his cross erect in the province of the other. At parliaments and councils the Archbishop of Canterbury was to sit on the king's right hand with his cross erect, the Archbishop of York on the left. In the open street their cross-bearers were to walk abreast; in a narrow alley or a gateway he of Canterbury was to take precedence. The pope confirmed the arrangement, and assigned a distinction which still survives; the successor of Augustine being thenceforth to be designated Primate of All

England, and his brother Archbishop Primate of England.

Thoresby found his diocese in a state of great disorganization. It had not recovered from the effects of the "Black Death" and the devastation of the Scottish marauders. There was a great amount of ignorance which needed enlightenment, and not a little irreligion to be grappled with. The clergy whom he found serving the different parishes were, to say the least, not likely to be of the highest type. They had been hastily ordained to fill up the gaps made by the plague. They were either utterly regardless of the reverence due to holy things and places, or powerless to stop their desecration. Of this we have several instances. The Archbishop issues orders to the parishioners of Worksop to abstain from wrestling, archery, indecent dances, and singing in their churchyard, and prohibits the holding of markets on Sundays in the porch and churchyard of Whitgift. Things were little better even in the Minster itself. The vicars were scandalously careless in their conduct of the services, and when they went about the streets they emulated the dress and swagger of the belted swordsman more than the grave attire and sedate step of the scholar and the churchman. It was no wonder; they were under no authority and subject to no restraint. Papal provisions had filled the chief places in the church of York with foreigners, who were, of course, non-resident. Between 1342 and 1385 the deanery was held by three Roman cardinals in succession. Many of the other dignities in the Minster were occupied in a similar manner. It was

the same with many a country benefice. The intrusion of these foreign priests into English livings had long been felt and protested against as a bitter grievance, but remonstrances were unheeded by Rome. At last the patience of England was exhausted, and in 1351 the famous "Statute of Provisors" was passed. The resistance with which this was met by the papal court resulted in another statute, the Act of "Præmunire," as it was subsequently called, whereby the prosecution of suits or appeals in foreign courts was made punishable by forfeiture, perpetual imprisonment, or banishment from the realm.

Thoresby's great care was to establish proper provision for the instruction of the people in the principles of the Christian religion. The mandate which he addressed to his clergy, through the archdeacons, on the subject of the gross ignorance which he found prevailing, is a remarkable one. He tells them plainly that it was due to their own carelessness or ignorance, and he urgently requires their obedience to the injunctions he gives, which had been approved by a general council of his diocese and province. Every clergyman with cure of souls was to explain to his people in the plainest manner possible, at the very least on every Lord's day, the articles of faith, the precepts given in both Old and New Testaments, the works of mercy, the cardinal virtues, the sacraments of grace, and the deadly sins. The attendance of their parishioners, both men and women, to receive this teaching, was to be diligently urged, as also the careful instruction of their children, as to which inquiry was to be made by the priest at the least

every Lent. To assist his clergy in the work, and to take away any pretence of inability on their part, he drew up a document which he caused to be translated into English, embodying the teaching which he wished to be given. It is exceedingly curious in a philological point of view, and especially as showing the amount of religious knowledge sought to be impressed upon the popular mind. This English version was dispersed, as we learn, "in small pagynes" amongst the common people. This is interesting as a proof that a certain amount of education existed in the middle, if not the lower, ranks of society. If there had been no readers, this dissemination of their chief pastor's words of instruction would have been an idle and fruitless labour. But the religious writings in prose and verse which belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries furnish remarkable evidence of the way in which preparation was silently and unconsciously made for the reception of Wycliffe's translation of the Bible, and the spread of those writings amongst the masses which eventually led the way to the great religious movement which ended in the Reformation. The Hermit of Hampole's works have already been mentioned. Besides him there was Robert de Brune, a Gilbertine canon, of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, who translated from the French a book which he entitles "Handlyng Synne." It was for "lewed" or unlearned men, as he tells us, that he undertook "on Englyssh tunge to make thys boke." Dan Michel's poem called "The Ayenbite of Inwyt," or Remorse of Conscience, is a book of similar character. All of them were designedly

written for Englishmen who were ignorant of the Latin tongue.

The Minster of York owes much to Thoresby. The state of its fabric when his episcopate commenced was as follows:—"The choir and its crypts were of enriched Norman, the work of Archbishop Roger. The central tower had the Norman piers of Archbishop Thomas, and above them the Early English campanile of Johannes Romanus the elder. Perhaps the Norman tower piers were clothed with Early English masonry. The transepts and the nave were the same that now remain; but the western towers of the nave rose no higher than the roof. The next work which was undertaken was to replace the choir of Archbishop Roger by an eastern building on the same scale of magnificence as the nave."¹ In 1361 a resolution was passed by the Archbishop and the Chapter declaring that every church ought to have its different parts consistently decorated, and that the choir, which is destined for the offering of the sacrifice, should be more especially ornamented. The absence of a fitting place wherein the daily celebration of the mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary could take place, was also adverted to, and it was agreed to begin such a choir, and that the old choir, which, compared with the beauty of the nave, seems rude, should be taken down piecemeal, as it may seem expedient, and used for the completion of the new choir. It was agreed also that a decayed hall at Sherburn should be taken

¹ Professor Willis' "Architectural History of York Cathedral," p. 30. (Pub. Archæol. Institute.)

down, and its materials applied towards the completion of the work.

Thoresby prosecuted this work with unusual diligence, and contributed himself very largely to it, exerting himself also to obtain substantial assistance from others. Professor Willis comes to the conclusion that the presbytery, or easternmost part of the existing choir, and the lady-chapel beyond, were finished and roofed during the Archbishop's life, previously therefore to 1373, and twelve years after the foundation stone was laid. He translated the bodies of his predecessors into his new building, and prepared his own tomb therein. The part of the building between the presbytery and the great tower was not commenced until after Thoresby's death, and was probably finished about 1400.

CHAPTER XIII.

A NAME belongs to the fourteenth century which cannot be passed over in any attempt to delineate the religious state of England during that period, and more especially so when we remember that to Yorkshire he who bore it owed his birth. The name of John Wycliffe holds perhaps a more prominent position in various ways than that of any other churchman of his day, for he was the precursor of that great movement which in the sixteenth century changed the religious attitude of this country and severed it from any dependence on or subjection to the sovereign pontiffs of the Church of Rome. He is said to have been born at a small village near Richmond in Yorkshire, and to have sprung from a family which took its patronymic from a place of the same name on the banks of the Tees in that neighbourhood. His early history is obscure. Others, bearing the same Christian and surname, have been confounded with him, and controversial tracts directed against the mendicant friars at a comparatively early period of his life have been confidently attributed to him "in the absence of all external and in defiance of all internal evidence." The first thing that rests upon distinct historical testimony concerning him is that in 1361 he was master of Baliol College in Oxford, and that in the same year he was

instituted to the rectory of Fylingham in Lincolnshire, a living in the gift of that society. He devoted himself to the pursuit of learning with an untiring diligence, and achieved the highest reputation. His supremacy as a scholar was undisputed, especially in logic and dialectics, and his deep study of the Holy Scriptures led to his being distinguished among his contemporaries by the appellation of the Evangelic Doctor. The distinction he had gained for learning and talent led to his being employed as one of the royal commissioners,¹ who were sent to Bruges to confer with the envoys of the pope on the question of the claims made by the latter for arrears of the tribute due to Rome under the convention of King John. No payment had been made for thirty-three years. The pope's claim had been distinctly repudiated by the Parliament in 1365. Bishops, Lords, and Commons were unanimous on the point. The issue of the conference at Bruges was that no reservation should be insisted upon by the pope, but the king was also bound to confer no benefices by an arbitrary writ. Wycliffe's part in the negotiations must have given satisfaction to the king, for his preferment speedily took place to a prebendal stall in the collegiate church of Westbury, and to the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire.

On the death of the Black Prince, in 1376, John of Gaunt became a ruling influence in court and

¹ Dr. Lechler considers that Wycliffe's appointment as commissioner was probably due to the influence of John of Gaunt. "John Wycliffe and his English Precursors," vol. i. p. 231. Translated by Dr. Lorimer.

council. For political reasons he was desirous of humiliating the Church and abridging the temporal power of the prelates. Wycliffe's views were adverse to the wealth, the grandeur, the worldly influence of the ecclesiastical body, but those views were based not upon a political but a religious foundation. Ecclesiastical abuses were the objects of his unsparing attack. Accusations drawn from statements made in his lectures and writings were brought against him, and he was summoned to answer the charges before a convocation held at St. Paul's Cathedral, for the purpose of granting a subsidy, on 3rd February, 1377. His teaching, as represented by his enemies, was startling enough to those who regarded the pope as the head of Christendom, for he was charged with denying any exclusive power or pre-eminence as attaching to the Church of Rome, and with the bold statement that the gospel was sufficient as a rule of life to all Christians. John of Gaunt supported him when he appeared before convocation, and in his zeal for the reformer applied insulting words to the Bishop of London, which were so distasteful to the citizens, with whom John of Gaunt was utterly unpopular, that no conclusion was come to and the convocation broke up. The real object of citing Wycliffe before convocation was to fasten odium upon John of Gaunt, a result which was fully gained.

But his enemies were persevering in their attacks. Papal bulls were procured, enjoining the bishops and the University of Oxford to renew the proceedings against Wycliffe, which was unwillingly done. He

appeared before the bishops at Lambeth. It was the signal for another tumult. On this occasion "he owed to the popularity of his cause the protection which he had before so strangely obtained by the unpopularity of his patron."¹ Nothing was done in the way of condemnation. He was simply dismissed with an injunction to refrain from publishing his opinions. The king had died before the arrival of these bulls, and on the accession of the youthful Richard II. John of Gaunt ceased to exercise open influence at court or council.

Dr. Shirley considers that Wycliffe's literary life may be divided into three periods; the first extending to the year 1366 or 1367, or three or four years later than his doctor's degree; the second to the great schism of the west, and the third to the close of his life.²

The first of these periods includes all his logical, physical, and philosophical works. In the second he appears as a reformer. The great schism which took place after the death of Gregory XI. in 1378 diverted attention from the internal affairs of the English church, and left Wycliffe free for his work. In the first instance he did not enter the lists against the doctrines so much as against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and at this period he gave a practical form to his earnest endeavours to promote a real improvement in the church of his own country. This was by founding what was really a new order, the "simple priests" whose homely attire, simplicity

¹ "Fasciculi Zizaniorum" (ed. Shirley), p. xxxii.

² Ibid. p. xxxix.

of life, ignorance of letters, but genuine earnestness and piety, bore not a little resemblance to John Wesley's lay preachers in a later age.

But he went further than this. He soon entered upon popular theology. He wrote tracts in the vernacular, and it was at this time probably that he was industriously occupied with his marvellous translation of the Bible. That, and his English tracts, contributed more to form the English language, and to prepare the way for the great movement of the sixteenth century than anything that was done by any one single individual. His version of the Bible was the model, the foundation of the translations which appeared in after years, and rude and uncouth as it now appears it was written in a tongue which was "understanded of the people." To Yorkshiremen it was as a living language more than three centuries afterwards. The writer of these pages well remembers being told by Dr. Raine, the eminent northern antiquary, that from his own recollection of the dialect and modes of speech which existed in his younger days in the remoter parts of Richmondshire, he was satisfied that a chapter out of Wycliffe's New Testament would have then been perfectly intelligible to the inhabitants of that district.

Had this been all, he might not have been disturbed. We read of no interference with Robert of Hampole, for example, for his version of the Book of Psalms. Even Archbishop Arundel in his "Constitutions against Lollards (1408)" does not forbid such translations. He requires only that they should have the sanction of the diocesan, or of a provincial council.

But Wycliffe assailed doctrine. He controverted that which was taught and held concerning the nature of the presence in the venerable sacrament of the Eucharist. His views respecting it were set forth in certain theses which he maintained at Oxford in 1381, and they are fully given in the fourth book of his "Trialogus." It was no wonder that they excited hostility, for they clearly contravened the teaching which was given by the Church of that day. He was condemned by the authorities of his own university. His appeal to John of Gaunt was met by the suggestion that he should refrain from speaking concerning the Holy Eucharist. He was subsequently prosecuted by Archbishop Courtenay, and a synod was convened at the Black Friars in May, 1382. Wycliffe was not personally summoned to appear, but certain conclusions drawn from his works were condemned, some of his followers severely punished, and he himself banished from Oxford. He retired to Lutterworth. One more attempt is said to have been made to procure a more distinct personal condemnation of the great reformer. It has been alleged that he was cited in 1384 to appear before the papal court, and that he wrote a letter to the Pope, explaining his physical inability to comply with the summons he had received. Professor Lechler regards this alleged citation to Rome as a thing which "must be relegated to the category of groundless traditions," and he discusses with much acumen the assumption that the letter given in Dr. Shirley's "*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*" was addressed to the Pope. He considers that the supposition is unsupported by any

internal evidence, and conjectures that it was really either the fragment of a sermon or a declaration addressed to English readers, having "no epistolary feature from beginning to end."¹ On the 29th Dec., 1384, John Wycliffe sank down under a stroke of palsy during the celebration of mass in his parish church, and on the 31st he quietly passed away.

Wycliffe was undoubtedly the greatest Englishman of his day. His personal character was free from the slightest shadow of reproach. His bitterest adversaries never ventured to cast an imputation upon his life and conduct. To attempt any lengthened conspectus of his dogmatic views and opinions would be impossible within the narrow limits of a book like the present. They are brought forward in the most distinct form in his "Trialogus," but he gave expression to them also in a countless number of tracts, or, as we should now call them, pamphlets. His ideal of the relations of Church and State were brought out in his book "*De Dominio Divino*." But he was not the author of a new system of religion. "He was destructive of the existing system, not reconstructive of a new one. In the translation of the Latin Scriptures and the assertion of the sole authority of Scripture, he laid the foundation, but he built upon it no new edifice. He swept away one by one almost all the peculiar tenets of mediæval Latin Christianity, pardons, indulgences, excommunications, absolutions, pilgrimages; he condemned images, at least of the Persons of the Trinity; he rejected

¹ "John Wycliffe and his English Precursors," vol. ii. pp. 283-286.

transubstantiation. But Teutonic Christianity had to await more than two centuries and a half before it offered a new system of doctrine to the religious necessities of man. Lutheranism, Anglicanism, Calvinism, are forms of faith; from Wycliffism it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to frame a creed like that of Augsburg, articles like those of the Church of England, or even those of Westminster."¹

About two years before Wycliffe's death that remarkable rising took place, called the "Peasant Revolt," remarkable for its widespread nature and the simultaneous character of the rebel movement. The people rose in Yorkshire, as well as in Kent and Devonshire. Tumults arose in York, Beverley, and Scarborough, and each of those places had to purchase pardons in 1382. But it was not a Lollard rising, nor did it spring, as alleged by some, from the preaching of Wycliffe's doctrines. In some places, no doubt, the Wycliffite preachers declaimed loudly against the clergy, but in others the clergy themselves were vehement in promoting the movement and exasperating the feelings of the people. There was general discontent and ill-feeling, arising mainly from the pressure of taxation, which was intensified by the obnoxious poll-tax which was felt by all. To this was added the grievance of the statute of labourers, which limited the wages they were to receive. But numbers joined the malcontents, as in all insurrectionary movements, who had no special grievance except hatred to the wealthy and governing classes, — fanatic preachers, like John Ball,

¹ Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. viii. p. 202.

wandering craftsmen, and ne'er-do-well artisans. Like those who joined David at the cave of Adullam, "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented" came and swelled the tide of disaffection and revolt. It had some terrible results. Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury was murdered, John of Gaunt's magnificent palace of the Savoy was plundered and burnt, and the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury utterly devastated. The plunder of this great monastic establishment "shows what vast agricultural proprietors the monks had become. A thousand horses, a hundred and twenty plough oxen, two hundred cows, three hundred bullocks, three hundred hogs, ten thousand sheep were driven off, and granges and barns burned to the ground."¹

But the rising was speedily quelled. Richard II. arrested its progress with great courage and ability, and a politic concession to the demands of the people, whose condition he promised to ameliorate. The ultimate results of the rising were of no unimportant character. "The landlords gave up the practice of demanding base services: they let their lands to leasehold tenants, and accepted money payments in lieu of labour; they ceased to recall the emancipated labourer into serfdom, or to oppose his assertion of right in the courts of the manor and the county. Rising out of villenage, the new freemen enlarged the class of yeomanry and strengthened the cause of the Commons in the country and in parliament; and from 1381 onwards

¹ Green's "History of the English People," vol. i. p. 481.

rural society in England began to work into its later forms, to be modified chiefly, and perhaps only, by the law of settlement and the poor-laws."¹

The embers of the rebellion, however, long smouldered, and at times broke out into a flame large enough to cause apprehension and alarm, especially amongst the clergy. There was no concerted movement, but throughout the middle and lower classes of the people in particular there was a deep and wide-spread feeling of animosity to the great churchmen and the monastic orders. Vehe- ment denunciations were uttered by wandering and fanatical preachers against their immoral and luxuri- ous lives, and curious calculations were made by them as to the number of earls, knights, and squires who might be maintained for the king's service, and the relief which might be given to the sick and needy, if the wealth of the Church might be divided and applied to these purposes. The ballad-singer chanted his rude rhymes to the same effect, and con- tributed to swell the chorus of disaffection. Neither was it altogether confined to the humbler classes. There were great nobles who sympathized, or affected so to do, with the movement which under the name of Lollardism became so prominent before the end of Richard's reign, and which evoked in that of his successor such cruel repressive measures. The doctrines of the Church did not escape reproach and contumely. They scoffed at the doctrine of tran- substantiation as involving idolatry, they uttered coarse invectives against priestly celibacy, connecting it with

¹ Stubbs' "Constitutional History," vol. ii. p. 463.

priestly immorality, they inveighed against the holding of secular offices by the clergy, they characterized the benediction of water and oil, of altar-stones, churches, and church-furniture as necromantic acts rather than religious rites. Prayers for the dead, offerings and worship before shrines and images, auricular confession and vows of chastity were alike obnoxious to them, and the exercise of religious functions by men whose lives were a reproach to their holy calling was vehemently condemned. War was an abomination in their eyes, and against capital punishments they uttered their protest. The articles containing these conclusions of the Lollards against the Church and her ministers, which were presented to parliament in the nineteenth year of Richard's reign, were the mutterings of the storm which broke upon that Church in all its violence in the sixteenth century.

Yet it would be alike unjust and ungenerous to believe that the Church was as universally corrupt as these articles would imply. That corruption existed there can be no doubt. The number of ecclesiastics of various ranks was enormous, and the wealth of the Church was great. It could scarcely be that the highest standard of religion and morals was likely to be reached by each individual member of that vast multitude, but we can hardly believe that the holy lives and careful teaching of men like Grosteste, Archbishop Thoresby, and others of like character, left no mark upon their age, no stamp upon the men whom they ordained. And in many a quiet nook of England, and under the shadow of many a stately minster, there were doubtless those whose lives belied

not the teaching which their lips proclaimed. The picture which Chaucer painted in unfading colours of the country parson of this very period was surely no imaginary portrait. It must have had its prototype in more than one parish in England :—

This noble example to his shepe he yaf,
That first he wrought, and afterwards he taught.
Out of the gospel he the wordes caught,
And this figure he added yet thereto,
That if gold ruste, what shuld iren do ?
For if a preeste be foule, on whom we trust
No wonder is a lewed man to rust.

Well ought a preest ensample for to yeve,
By his clenenesse how his shepe shulde live.

The great monastic houses of Yorkshire must have furnished a text for many a denunciation on the part of the Lollard preachers against the self-indulgence and secularity of their inmates. Protests of another kind were not wholly wanting against the scandal which was caused by the decay of piety and the relaxation of discipline in those great communities. To a protest of this kind against the irregularities which prevailed in St. Mary's Abbey at York the Cistercians of Fountains, it will be remembered, owed their origin. The grey walls of the ruined Priory of Mount Grace, and the tower of its small church, yet survive to bear silent witness to the austerity of the Carthusian rule, which, like that of the Cistercians in a bygone age, sought to call men's minds, if it might be, from all secular distractions, and fix them wholly upon the contemplation of things unseen and eternal.

It is a ruin which is little known, standing in almost its pristine loneliness on a green plot of level ground under the shadow of the Hambleton Hills, about seven miles east of Northallerton. But it is of singular interest, being a unique example in England of the arrangements of the Order of St. Bruno. There are the two courts, the outer one for the lay brethren, the guest-hall and the domestic offices, the other for the brethren who adopted the rule in all its strictness. The range of their cells is well-nigh perfect, and the small square opening into each for the conveyance of food or other necessities is so contrived that neither the cloistered inmate, nor he who handed in what was required, could see each other. Absolute privacy was secured. This little priory owed its foundation to Thomas Holand, Duke of Surrey, about 1396, and was endowed with his manor of Bordelby, and the lands of three alien priories. He fell at Cirencester in his gallant attempt to reinstate Richard on his throne, leaving the priory only half finished. The grants of land made by Surrey were subsequently confirmed, in 1440, by Henry VI., when the buildings were completed, and the brethren put in full possession. The body of the ill-fated founder was first interred at Cirencester, but was afterwards brought to Mount Grace, but no tomb is visible to mark the spot. The Carthusian Order never took much root in England. Only nine houses belonged to it at the dissolution. Two of these were in Yorkshire, of which Mount Grace was one; Hull possessed the other, founded by Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk and Lord Chancellor. Not a vestige remains of the house at Hull.

Whatever might be the shortcomings of the ecclesiastics of the fourteenth century as regarded the highest duties of their calling, they left one mark, at all events, behind them which is yet unobliterated. We owe to them some of the most exquisite and graceful architectural forms which consummate taste and unsparing munificence have ever achieved. The Early English style gradually merged into that which has received the name of Decorated. We have already noted the work of this character which adds so much grace and beauty to the great mother church of the diocese. We see it exemplified also in the minsters of Ripon and Beverley, the great abbey church of Selby, and the once collegiate church of Howden. We see it in the stately ruins of St. Mary's Abbey at York, of Fountains, of Rievaulx, and of Bolton. But it spread far and wide. Few are the parish churches in this great county which do not bear some mark of the Edwardian period of our ecclesiastical architecture in one part or another of their structure. Towards the end of the century another transition took place; the flowing and curvilinear lines of the Decorated Period were superseded by the vertical ones of the Perpendicular style, a style which, with various modifications, subsisted until the time of the Reformation, and of which examples exist in tower or window, clerestory or chantry chapel, in more than half of Yorkshire's country churches. It is almost needless to say how prominent are its peculiar characteristics in the great minsters which still stand in their solemn beauty, and in the remains which exist of the monastic churches.

CHAPTER XIV.

AFTER Archbishop Thoresby's death in 1373 the work which he had begun at the eastern end of the minster seems to have been at a stand for a few years. In 1377 the church of Misterton was appropriated to the fabric of the choir for ten years. This arrangement was confirmed by a papal bull in 1379; the work was, therefore, probably resumed about 1380. It seems to have gone on but slowly. Complaint was made at a visitation of the Archbishop in 1390 that the work was delayed, and that the rents and income devoted to the fabric were diverted from their proper purpose. The conclusion arrived at by Professor Willis is that the western portion of the choir was completed about 1400, and before 1405 that part of the church was roofed in, and much progress made with its internal fittings and decorations.¹ In the latter year an agreement was entered into with John Thornton of Coventry, glazier, by the Dean and Chapter, for the glazing and painting of the great eastern window, which was to be finished within three years. For this he was to receive 4s. per week, 100s. at the end of each of the three years, and if executed to the satisfaction of the Chapter, he was to receive a gratuity of £10 in silver. It can scarcely be doubted

¹ Willis, p. 43.

that he received his full *honorarium*. It still remains uninjured, in all its solemn beauty, singularly rich in design and colour, fitly terminating a choir which is perhaps exceeded by no cathedral in England in the majesty of its proportions.

Between the death of Thoresby and the year which probably witnessed the completion of the great work which he began, four Archbishops occupied the episcopal chair,—Alexander Nevile, Thomas Arundel, Robert Waldby, and Richard Scrope. Nevile's life was a chequered one. Little is recorded of him in connection with the diocese except his quarrels with the canons of York and Beverley, and his erection of additional towers and buildings to the archiepiscopal castle of Cawood. He attached himself as a devoted adherent to the cause of Richard II., a devotion which proved fatal to his own interests. Knighton says that he exasperated the party who took up arms against Richard by the advice he had given that sovereign to set aside some Act of Parliament by his own arbitrary exercise of power. However that might be, when he saw that Richard's cause was lost he went into voluntary exile, and after living some time in great poverty he surrendered his see, and Pope Urban V. translated him to that of St. Andrew's, in Scotland. But the Scots, who refused to recognize Urban as Pope, declined altogether to receive Nevile as their bishop, and he passed the remainder of his life at Louvain, eking out the small stipend of a parish priest there by teaching a school. He died in 1392. He was succeeded by Arundel, whose history belongs to Canterbury, to which he was translated in 1396,

being the first Archbishop of York who became Primate of All England.

Waldby was the next occupant of the archiepiscopal chair. He followed Edward the Black Prince into France, and carried on his studies at the University of Toulouse, in which he became Professor of Divinity. He was a learned man, and wrote several works, the titles of some of which are given by Bale. Amongst them is one *Contra Wicklevistas*. After having held a bishopric in Aquitaine he was translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin, and from thence to Chichester. In 1396 he became Archbishop of York, but his tenure of that see was a very brief one, for he died in the year following.

Waldby's successor was a prelate whose tragical end caused his name to be remembered for many a long year with deep and heartfelt veneration by all the inhabitants of the great shire of York. He was a scion of the noble house of Scrope, being the third son of Henry first Lord Scrope of Masham, a soldier and statesman of no mean reputation, who fought at Halidon Hill, Crecy, and Neville's Cross, and was present at the siege of Calais, of which town he subsequently became governor. The future Archbishop derived his Christian name from his godfather, Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton,¹ Chancellor of England under Richard II., and the builder of Bolton

Richard, Lord Scrope, by his will dated 2nd August, 1400, leaves a bequest to his godson: "Item, Domino Archiepiscopo Ebor. charissimo patri et *filio meo*, meliorem ciphum meum de murreo, scilicet maser." (Test. Ebor. i. p. 276 [Pub. Surtees Soc.].)

Castle, which still survives in almost uninjured massiveness on the northern ridge of Wensleydale, destined in after years to have a romantic interest attaching to it from its connection with the eventful history of Mary Queen of Scots. In more settled times Archbishop Scrope would have left behind him the reputation of a blameless prelate, for he was learned, charitable, and devout, humble-minded, courteous, and affable to all. But in his political relations his conduct was ill-advised, to say the least, if not deserving a harsher epithet. When Richard II. formally renounced the crown in 1399, the Archbishop of York was one of the proctors whom he appointed to present to the parliament a written form in which he absolved his people from all allegiance to him, a document which was signed by his own hand. The deposition of Richard was agreed to. Henry of Lancaster then rose and claimed the crown by virtue of his descent in the right line from Henry III. The assent of the estates was at once given, and Henry of Lancaster was led to the throne by Archbishop Arundel, assisted by Archbishop Scrope. But in 1405 great disaffection to Henry prevailed. Preparations for a rising were made in the north by the Earl of Northumberland and Mowbray the Earl Marshal. In an evil hour for himself Archbishop Scrope was induced to join them. Articles of indictment were promulgated by them against the king, in which he was described as Henry of Derby, charging him with being a usurper and a traitor, with complicity in the murder of Richard, and with various acts which had caused distress and misery to the nation at large.

These articles were affixed to the doors of the churches in York and its neighbourhood, doubtless with the Archbishop's cognizance, if not with his absolute sanction. On learning this Henry advanced to the north, calling his forces together to Pontefract. The Earl of Westmorland, with the King's forces, met the insurgents on Shipton moor, and proposed a conference, at which, at the request of the archbishop, Westmorland undertook to lay their demands before the King. The rebel forces were misled by the apparently friendly demeanour of the leaders on either side, and they dispersed, leaving the Archbishop and the Earl Marshal defenceless. They were arrested and brought before the king and ordered to follow him to the Archbishop's own house at Bishopthorpe. A court was ordered to be held in the great hall, and Gascoigne, the chief justice, was commanded by the King to condemn the Archbishop to death. The judge utterly refused, alleging the reverence due to his episcopal character. Henry was furious, and called upon Sir William Fulthorpe (who was not a judge) to pronounce sentence of death upon the prelate, who was made to stand bare-headed before him to receive condemnation as a traitor. The Archbishop called God to witness that he was guiltless of any ill-design against the king; that his sole object, in conjunction with others of the nobility, was to seek from him the reformation of many existing evils, and the redress of sundry grievances. But his protestations were unheeded, and he was condemned to die. All this took place early in the day. At noon-tide, on the 8th of June, he was brought out, made to mount,

without a saddle, upon the back of a worn-out wretched horse, and led to the place of execution, which was a field not far from Bishopthorpe.¹ He was not allowed to wear his rochet, which was then the distinguishing attire of a bishop whenever he appeared in public, but was clothed simply in a long cassock or tunic of blue or violet colour, with a hood attached. When he arrived at the place of execution he knelt down, besought God's pardon for all his sins of omission or commission, and forgave his executioner, whom he requested to strike him with five blows of his sword, in memory of the five wounds of his Lord and Saviour Christ. This was done. At the fifth stroke his head was severed from his body, and a deep thrill of horror agonized every heart in the crowd which witnessed the piteous scene. It was a rude and cruel shock to all the better feelings of their nature. He was a bishop of the church of God, and their religious instincts were utterly revolted by such an act of high-handed tyranny. He was, likewise, their own bishop, endeared to them by his many virtues, his devout and exemplary life, his unfailing kindness. He was a member, moreover, of a great Yorkshire house, and in those days, when the old feudal feelings were still strong and deep, this added yet another element to the bitterness of feeling with which they beheld the bloody tragedy which was enacted in the fields of

¹ A chapel was afterwards erected in the field where the execution took place. This field is at the junction of Bishopthorpe and Nunthorpe roads, a little below Nun Hill. It is still called "Chapel Field." Cf. "Walks through the City of York," by the late Robert Davies, F.S.A., p. 114.

Bishopthorpe on that bright June day. Signs and portents were not unnaturally supposed to follow. A crop of barley was growing upon five ridges of the common field adjoining the spot where the execution took place. This was utterly trodden down and apparently destroyed by the trampling of the assembled crowd, but it sprang up again and yielded in the autumn an unusual increase. The king was said to have been struck with leprosy the night after the Archbishop's execution. A story is also told by Clement Maydeston that when Henry died, and his body was brought down the river from Westminster on its way to Canterbury for interment, a fearful storm arose. Eight small vessels containing the nobles who followed in the train of the royal corpse were dispersed and almost lost. The vessel which carried the corpse was in so much danger that, in a paroxysm of superstitious fear, the sailors took it out of the coffin and flung it into the sea between Barking and Gravesend, when a great calm immediately ensued. The coffin, covered with a pall of cloth of gold, was taken on to Canterbury and honourably interred; and Maydeston avers that the monks there always told people that they had the sepulchre of Henry IV. with them but not the body.

The remains of the Archbishop were laid in the chapel of St. Stephen in the Minster of York. His tomb was regarded with peculiar veneration. Thousands flocked thither to make their prayers and offerings as at the shrine of a saint and martyr. "The offerings which they made were devoted to the fabric, and thus, even in his death, the ill-fated prelate

contributed to the upraising of that glorious edifice which he had never neglected during his life.”¹

These demonstrations of popular feeling were very unpalatable to the king. By his order a strong remonstrance on the subject was addressed to the chapter by Archbishop Arundel, which was also signed by Langley, the Dean of York, in his official capacity of Chancellor. But the tide of popular devotion at the tomb of Scrope was far too strong to be diverted even by royal interference. It went on down to the time of the Reformation, and when shrines and chantries were then stripped of their treasures, no chapel in the minster contained a more costly array of rich and precious things than that in which were laid the remains of the ill-fated prelate.² He was never canonized, except by the *vox populi*, but many an honoured name has been enrolled in the calendar of saints which has failed to secure one tithe of the veneration which was long and lovingly rendered at the shrine of Richard Scrope.

Yet the acts which led to the Archbishop's condemnation were treasonable. That condemnation was a direct and unheard-of violation of the canon law, but it was subsequently almost vindicated at Rome. It is true indeed that the king was excommunicated by Innocent VII., but the excommunication was taken off by his successor, Gregory XII., and the bishops of Durham and Lincoln had plenary power given them

¹ “Fabric Rolls of York Minster,” p. 193.

² A list of them is given in the “Fabric Rolls of York Minster,” p. 225.

to reconcile every one who had any hand in the matter.

Archbishop Bowet, Scrope's immediate successor, is noteworthy as having issued the last indulgence known on behalf of the fabric fund of the minster. The work gradually advanced to its completion during his own occupation of the see, and the respective episcopates of the prelates who followed him,—Kemp, Booth, and Neville. The munificent offerings that were made at the tomb of Scrope have already been mentioned, and the capitular body made large grants out of their own funds. The choir was already finished, as also the nave. The stately windows of the choir transept—if we may apply that term to the division which they mark between the choir and the presbytery—rivalling in height the elevation of the great east window, date from the earlier half of the fifteenth century. That on the north side, with its splendid glass, representing the life and miracles of St. William of York, belongs probably to Bowet's episcopate (1407–1423). The one on the south side is later, and is said to have been given by the executors of Langley, Bishop of Durham, who had formerly been Dean of York. The life and miracles of St. Cuthbert are the subjects depicted in its glass, through which the sunlight gleams at noontide with so much brightness and beauty. After the completion of nave and choir the next work undertaken was the re-casing of the great Norman piers of the centre tower. The masonry of Archbishop Thomas was encased with Perpendicular stonework, thus giving unity of effect to the internal aspect of the building.

The great tower, which is supported by these piers, was carried on from 1405, and occupied several succeeding years. Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, is said by his biographer, W. de Chambre, to have built great part of the lantern of York Minster. He died in 1406, and his will shows a bequest of 100 marks to the fabric. He had probably given large sums during his life, for his arms are placed on the spandril of the lantern-tower, and also in the south-eastern transept of the choir. Chambre speaks of his custom of thus marking his works. The spandrils of the arches on either side of the nave and choir contain carvings of the coats armorial of most of the great houses of the North. The introduction of these insignia into the house of God, whether carved on the wall or gleaming in the window, or graven on the sepulchral brass, has frequently been severely criticised as a manifestation of human pride in the place where, of all others, it is the most incongruous. But the practice had probably a different origin. We gather this from a few words in the will of a York merchant, who orders his executors to buy a cope of ruby velvet for St. Saviour's church, and directs that a shield of his arms shall be wrought upon the border of the cope, so that when the people see it they may feel moved to offer up special prayers for his soul. Now the bearings of all the great Yorkshire houses would be perfectly well known to every citizen in York, and to all who swelled the vast assemblage which filled the great minster's nave and aisles on days of high festival. The saltire of the Neville, the lion rampant of the Mowbray, the bend of the Scrope, the fesse dancetté

of the Vavasour, and many others, would at once bring to mind the living personality of the leader who wore them on his surcoat, and on whose banner they were blazoned, and some, at least, of the assembled multitude would offer up a prayer for those of the name who had passed away, and who in their day of life had done somewhat towards the uprearing of those stately piers and arches and that high o'er-arching roof.

The whole of the interior of the Minster must have been completed before 1430. In that year Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. visited York in the course of his travels. He describes its minster as a church which was renowned throughout all the world for the grandeur of its architecture and the majesty of its proportions, and he particularly mentions its "glass walls," obviously referring to the vastness of its eastern window, the stately lights of the chapter-house, and the "storied windows, richly dight," of aisle and clerestory. Their "diaphanous workmanship,"—to use an expression of Dr. Whewell's,—seems to have much impressed him.

"The south-western tower was erected under Ber-nyngham, the treasurer, from 1432 onwards for an uncertain time. The north-western tower was carried on about 1470; and about the same time the painted vault of the central tower was set up and finished. But the history of the wooden vaults of the presbytery, choir, and transepts is lost. The wooden vault of the nave was constructed about 1350. Finally, in 1472, it was thought necessary, as the church had been in fact rebuilt, that it should be

reconsecrated, which was accordingly effected on the 3rd of July, and that day was decreed to be the feast of dedication of the church of York in future.”¹ The completion of those western towers was the bringing forth of the cope-stone, so to speak, of the majestic structure, and such as it was when gazed upon on the 3rd of July, 1472, by those who thronged to take their part in its solemn re-dedication, such we see it now, an emblem of the strength, and the grandeur, and the perpetuity of the Church of Christ in this land. In the building of our cathedrals, the men of those far-off centuries “expressed all their poetry, their visions, their hopes. The work of an entire people, the cathedral is the noble symbol of a people’s faith. These stones speak with an incomparable eloquence. Disposed in the form of a cross, they tell the world that there is no glory like that of the accursed tree on which the Holy Victim died. The soul is conscious of a boundless exultation beneath these high-arching domes, the spire seems to rise from the choir to heaven, uplifted on the voice of chant and prayer. The cathedral is to the man of the Middle Ages the image of the world renewed by Christ, and being lifted up to God by a grand impulse springing from the cross. . . . Let us not forget that it represents day by day the drama of redemption.”²

Scrope’s immediate successors left no peculiar mark on the diocese. Archbishop Bowet sat for seventeen

¹ Willis, p. 47. He quotes from the Chapter Acts of 25th May, 1472.

² De Pressensé : “Mystery of Suffering,” p. 140.

years, and is noted, as Godwin tells us, as "the greatest housekeeper of any archbishop that ever sate in York before him. For proove whereof it is alleaged that he spent usually in his house of claret wine onely, 80 tuns."¹ He was noted also in another way. The spirit of the warrior-bishops who commanded armies in the field still survived in him. In 1417 Berwick was beleagured by the Scots, who took advantage of Henry V.'s absence in France. Troops were hastily gathered together for the relief of the place, and though Bowet was so infirm that he was unable to mount a horse or act as a leader, he insisted on being carried in a litter, accompanied by many of his clergy, along the lines of the army, when disposed in battle array, to encourage them by his voice and presence to repulse the enemy. He died at Cawood, in 1423, and was buried at the east end of the minster of York.

Kemp was the next who filled the archiepiscopal chair. He had previously held the sees of Rochester, Chichester, and London, and was translated from York to Canterbury. He was twice created cardinal, on different titles. His various preferments were tersely summed up in the line—

"Bis primas, ter præses, et bis cardine functus."

His successor, Booth, was followed by George Neville, brother of the great Earl of Warwick, so often called the king-maker. He stands on a bad eminence, as an example of the extraordinary abuse of church patronage which prevailed in favour of

¹ "Godwin's Catal.," p. 607.

those who were connected with any of the great families who happened to have powerful court interest or influence. Whilst yet a boy of only fourteen he had a papal dispensation to enable him to hold a canonry at Salisbury as well as a stall at York. At three-and-twenty he was appointed Bishop of Exeter, the pope issuing a bull which enabled him to receive the income of his bishopric during the period which elapsed between his nomination and his attaining canonical age for consecration. He became Archbishop of York in 1464, and will always be remembered in connection with the extraordinary feast which he gave to celebrate his enthronization. Godwin gives the bill of fare, which is certainly a curiosity in its way, so multifarious are the viands, so profusely are the dishes multiplied. Geese, capons, mallard, and teal are counted by thousands, as are likewise the venison pasties, and the dishes of jellies, tarts, and custards. He details also the names of the great lords and ladies, prelates, and chief estates of the kingdom, who were entertained by this magnificent Primate of the North, and the arrangement of the tables at which they sat in the proper gradations of their several ranks and dignities.

During his episcopate the see of York was abridged of a large part of its ancient jurisdiction. St. Andrew's in Scotland was made an archiepiscopal see by Pope Sixtus IV., with twelve suffragan sees dependent upon it. The Tweed henceforward became the northern boundary of the Province of York. Neville strenuously resisted this arrangement, but the pope was strong enough to carry his point.

The near relationship of Archbishop Neville to the great Earl of Warwick involved him, more or less closely, with the ambitious designs of the latter, and present him in the light of a great temporal prince engrossed with secular and political affairs, rather than as the christian pastor of a great diocese. Yet he was not altogether unmindful of the duties which he owed to those who were under his spiritual charge. A provincial council was held at York in 1466, at which Neville promulgated certain constitutions. By these he enjoined every parish priest to expound to his people in their mother-tongue the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the two evangelical precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, *cum suâ progenie*, the seven principal virtues and the seven sacraments of Grace : and he enters into a long explanation of these several points, so that they might know how to teach their people.

But this is a solitary instance. No other act appears to connect him with the spiritual oversight of the diocese. His name occurs perpetually in the records of the time, but it is in connection with the varying fortunes of the Red or White Rose. The battle of Towton in 1461 appeared to have given a crushing blow to the house of Lancaster, but the restless ambition of Warwick aimed, ere many years were over, at the removal of Edward IV. from his throne. Warwick married his daughter to the Duke of Clarence. At this marriage Archbishop Neville officiated. Warwick's ulterior object was, no doubt, to place Clarence on the throne. Insurrections took place in Yorkshire and elsewhere, and Edward, who was left defenceless

in a hostile part of the country was either taken prisoner by or surrendered himself to the Archbishop, who took him to Middleham. But he soon regained his liberty. In the sequel Henry VI. was brought out from the Tower by Archbishop Neville and Bishop Waynflete. The former was made Chancellor, and preached at the opening of the parliament which Henry was made to hold. The battle of Barnet was the final blow to Warwick, who perished in the field. His brother the Archbishop made his peace indeed after this battle, and the subsequent death of Henry VI., with Edward ; but he was soon thrown into prison at Guisnes or Calais, and his vast wealth and the temporalities of the see were seized by the king. He was released after a time, but did not live long. He died in 1476.

CHAPTER XV.

SOME curious illustrations of the religious and social sides of mediæval life may be gleaned from records belonging to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Not the least interesting of these relate to Gilds, those remarkable associations for mutual help which were so ancient, so widely extended, so popular, and so beneficial in this country. They go back to the most remote antiquity. "The old laws of King Alfred, of King Ina, of King Athelstan, of King Henry I., reproduce still older laws in which the universal existence of Gilds is treated as a matter of well-known fact, and in which it is taken to be a matter of course that every one belonged to some Gild."¹ In their origin they were merely social unions, without any distinctively religious character. "They were not in any sense," says Mr. Toulmin Smith, "superstitious foundations; that is, they were not founded, like monasteries and priories, for men devoted to what were deemed religious exercises. Priests might belong to them, and often did so, in their private capacities. But the gilds were lay bodies, and existed for lay purposes, and the better to enable those who belonged to them rightly and understandingly to fulfil their

¹ 'English Gilds' (Pub. Early English Text Society),
Introduct., p. xv.

neighbourly duties as free men in a free state.”¹ A curious exemplification of the dominating influence of the lay element is afforded by the laws of three gilds at Cambridge, one of which excludes priests altogether ; another allows them no part in its management, whilst a third has a rule providing that if their funds prove inadequate to pay a chaplain in addition to the maintenance of the poor brethren, the stipend of the former is at once to cease.² Yet it must not be supposed that the religious element was absent, or scantily recognized : “the evidences of a simple piety and of a faith that entered into the every-day life are some of the most pleasing traits of the Old Gild-Ordinances.”³

The gilds of the fourteenth century were lineally descended from those of an older time. The citizens of York, for example, had a gild-merchant and *hanse*⁴ in the reign of Henry I., as declared in their charter from John, and the earliest charter of the Great Gild of St. John of Beverley was given in the reign of the former monarch.

Many particulars respecting the gilds which were in existence in that century may be gathered from the returns made in compliance with the provisions of an Act passed by a Parliament which sat at Cambridge in 1388, which called for details of the condition, property, &c., of all gilds, mysteries, and crafts, together with copies of their charters or letters patent, if any such there were. In pursuance of this, returns

¹ “English Gilds,” p. xxviii. ² *Ibid.*, xxix. ³ *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

⁴ A *hanse* appears to have been a company or society formed exclusively for purposes of trading in the country or abroad.

were sent up in January, 1389 which contain, *inter alia*, accounts of the ordinances of certain gilds in York, Beverley, and Hull. They are singularly interesting. In one we find a record of the kindly provision which was made for "the infirm, bowed, blind, dumb, deaf, maimed, or sick, whether with some lasting or only temporary sickness, and whether in old age or in youth." The weekly allowance to each was 7d. and it was continued during life. In the ordinances of the Great Gild of Corpus Christi at York we find that eight beds were to be provided for "poor people being strangers," and a poor woman maintained to attend to them. This gild was a later foundation, dating from 1408. It differed in one important particular from the other gilds in having been originated by the clergy, who likewise formed its governing body. But the number of lay persons, male and female, who were enrolled as members was very large.

Its popularity was probably due in a great measure to the magnificence of its pageants and processions. In the year 1415 ninety-six separate crafts joined in the procession, and no less than fifty-four distinct pageants were got up by them for the gratification of the people of York. The subjects of eleven of these pageants were taken from the Old Testament, the remainder from the New. Some of the narrow streets of York still retain a touch of the picturesqueness of their mediæval character. Here and there a house survives with its half-timbered front and projecting gables of fifteenth century work. When we gaze upon the quaint examples of the domestic

architecture of that period, it helps us to realize the scene they must often have witnessed of stately processions of the gild brethren and sisters, clothed in the liveries of their respective crafts and associations winding their way along these ancient streets, bearing aloft their lighted tapers, and chanting their litanies and hymns, as they passed onward to the mighty minster to keep their festal day by an act of solemn worship within its walls.

One of the gilds of York took its designation from the Lord's Prayer. Oddly enough, as it seems to us, they contrived to found "a play" upon its holy words, "in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise." The members of the gild bound themselves "to pray for the bretheren and sisteren of the gild, both alive and dead, that the living shall be able so to keep the gild that they may deserve to win God's fatherhood, and that the dead may have their torments lightened." Works of kindness were to be practised, so that none of the brethren might "perish through lack of help." A *corona lucis* was to hang in the minster, carrying "seven lights, in token of the seven supplications in the Lord's Prayer, and be lighted, on Sundays and feast-days to the glory and honour of God Almighty, the maker of that prayer, of St. Peter the glorious confessor, of St. William, and of all saints;" and a table "showing the whole meaning and use of the Lord's Prayer" was to be hung on a pillar in the minster. Once in

¹ "English Gilds," p. 137-8.

every six weeks they were to meet together to offer up special prayers for the welfare of the sovereign and the good governance of the realm, for the brethren and sisters living and dead, and for all who had done them good or shown them kindness. This gild had no lands or tenements, nor any possessions, "save only the properties needed in the playing of the before-named play."

The return made by the Gild of St. John Baptist in York is touching in its simplicity. Its primary object "is to cherish brotherly love." "No brother shall be so bold as to do wrong to any one, thinking that the gild will back him up." This gild also states that it "has no goods other than what are raised by yearly payments."

But most of them had property both in lands and houses in addition to the fund which was raised by the yearly payments of the members, and the entrance-money which was paid on the admission of each new associate.

The Yorkshire returns include three gilds at Beverley and three at Hull. There were doubtless many more in the great shire of York, but their returns have not been preserved. Some picturesque touches occur in the returns from Beverley. On the feast of St. Elene the fairest youth that can be found is to be picked out and "clad as a queen like to St. Elene." An old man is to go before him bearing a cross, and another old man carrying a shovel, "in token of the finding of the Holy Cross." These headed the long line of brethren and sisters of the gild as they swept along in solemn procession, "with much music," to

the Church of the Friars Minors.¹ In like manner, on the Festival of the Purification one of the Gild of St. Mary was "clad in comely fashion as a queen, like to the glorious Virgin Mary, having what may seem a son in her arms." Two followed clad as Joseph and Simeon, and two as angels, carrying great lights. Other great lights preceded them, and with much music and gladness they also went on their way to one of the churches.² The rulers of this gild were bound to visit "poor, ailing, or weak brethren or sisters who have not enough of their own to live upon," and to relieve them week by week at their discretion out of the gild stock. Eightpence, sixpence, or at the least fourpence a week, was the allowance to be given "to help their needs."³

The ordinances of these gilds vary, as might be expected, in many of their details. Some were almost wholly of the nature of our modern benefit societies, the members making regular payments to the common stock whilst in health and so long as their means were fairly good, and receiving help in their time of sickness or their hour of need. Some contributed to works of public usefulness, such as the repair of roads and highways, or the renovation of the walls of a town, or of bridges. Instances occur, moreover, of gifts towards the restoration of the fabrics of churches, and we find also the maintenance of free-schools and schoolmasters recorded amongst their acts of charity. One thing is especially observable in all, namely, the self-respect which they sought to inculcate amongst their members.

¹ "English Gilds," p. 148. ² Ibid., p. 149. ³ Ibid., p. 150.

Outward morality at the least, courteous behaviour, industry, and thrift, and attention to religious duties, were imperatively demanded of all who sought enrolment on the lists of their members, and a failure to fulfil these requirements was punished by expulsion. The influence for good which these societies must have exercised for a very long series of years in this country can scarcely be over-estimated; and it must never be forgotten that they were organised by the spontaneous action of the people themselves.

Equally curious illustrations of mediæval religious life may be gathered from the archiepiscopal registers of the period with which we are now dealing. Amongst those which are most noteworthy is the custom which prevailed, to a considerable extent, of a woman becoming what was called a *voress* after her husband's death. She came before the Archbishop, or his suffragan, or some other prelate, or the abbot or prior of some monastery, who were licensed to receive her vow by the primate of the Northern Province. It was a solemn vow of chastity, pledging her to remain, in the words of Holy Scripture, "a widow indeed" for the remainder of her life. From more than one of the entries we learn something of the accompanying ceremonial. It took place immediately before mass, and the officiating prelate, after the postulant had signed a written promise, gave her his benediction and invested her with a mantle, a veil, and a ring.¹ But she was not separated from the

¹ "Præfatam Elizabet benedixit, ac sibi clamite (chlamyde), velo et annulo caritatis induebat et ornavit."—"Test. Ebor." iii. p. 313.

world, or regarded in any sense as a member of a religious order; though in some cases it would seem that, for the sake of leading a stricter life, she took up her abode in or near some religious house. The taking of this vow was a thing of very common occurrence, both in the higher and lower ranks of society. In the case of ladies of rank or high descent, the vow was commonly made before the Archbishop, as in the case of Margaret of Slingsby, whom Archbishop Scrope received at Bishopthorpe, himself celebrating mass in his chapel there, and going through all the customary formalities. When the Archbishop was absent his suffragan usually officiated. We have several of their names. William, Bishop of Pharos, Nicholas, Bishop of Dromore, John, Bishop of the Isles, William, Bishop of Dromore, John, Bishop of Ross, and John, Bishop of Negropont, are amongst those who occur. Bishop William, of Dromore, seems to have acted as suffragan for many years. He was suffragan to Archbishop Neville in 1469, and he was acting in the same capacity for successive prelates down to 1501.

A record occurs of the vow being made under peculiar circumstances, whilst the husband was still living. One Henry Andrew comes before Archbishop Booth in 1479, and solemnly vows to live in chastity from that day forward, and to give himself to "fastyng, prayer, and workes of pety," and to abide stedfastly by his vow, "after the order of hermettes," for the remainder of his life. Mistress Alice, his wife, then comes forward and makes her vow, *tanquam vidua*; each, no doubt, having agreed with the other

to live apart, and to devote themselves to what they regarded as a higher life, and a more acceptable service to their God.

Other entries occur, in great abundance, in these Registers, relating to dispensations for marriage, which issued, directly or indirectly, from the papal court. The number applied for in one single diocese is enough to show that the granting of these dispensations throughout the whole realm must have been a very considerable source of revenue to the Apostolic see. The impediments to marriage, as laid down by the rules of the pre-Reformation Church, were many, and must often have been felt to be very vexatious. If the parties who wished to marry were related in the third or fourth degree of consanguinity, or if one had been sponsor to the other, or to a child of the other, a dispensation must be obtained. And even if they had married in complete ignorance of the impediment that existed, the marriage was null and their children illegitimate. An *ex post facto* dispensation was needed in such a case to legalise the nuptial tie and to legitimise the issue. It is not at all improbable that the inquisitorial interference with private life which, in countless instances, must necessarily have taken place, was one of those minor things which irritated men's minds, and tended to promote that antagonistic feeling towards the church which undoubtedly prevailed to a great extent long before any overt acts against the papal supremacy had been effected by the ruling power. The idea, likewise, that greed was at the bottom of the enforced application for these dispensations, would not a little tend

to intensify the bitter feeling which would often be engendered.

Information is also afforded of a very interesting nature respecting the re-construction of some of the old parish churches, sometimes as to the erection of a new one on a more convenient site, or the building of chapels or oratories in some outlying corner of a wide and scattered parish. An indulgence occurs under the year 1486 which is worthy of note. It refers to the erection of a new and sumptuous chapel at Towton, on the spot where the bodies of a great multitude of those who fought and fell on that bloody field, many of high rank and lineage, had been thrown hastily into a common grave. Another indulgence for the same object bears date as late as 1502.

The presentments made at the visitations of the Minster, of the parish churches of York and other parts of the diocese at this period, throw a lurid light upon the religious history of the time. It was a time, be it remembered, when the mighty fabric of the Minster received its completion. It was a period which witnessed many a stately addition, and much costly renovation, as regards the parochial churches in many parts of the diocese. But all this was accompanied by a manifest decay of piety, of reverence, even of common decency in the celebration of divine offices by the clergy, and that, above all, in the Minster itself. The Chancellor, the Sub-dean, and the Succentor canonicorum, who are specially bound to reside, do not fulfil their obligation. The vicars choral straggle into choir after the divine office is commenced and slip out before it is ended. Sometimes, even on

the greater festivals, no canon is present. No order is taken to repress the tumultuous gathering together of noisy and mischievous boys within the walls of the church even during the celebration of mass. The succentor canonicorum and three others are alleged to have concubines. The inferior ministers of the church, deacons and thurifers, are reported as chattering and talking in the choir, paying no heed to whatever divine office was going on. Certain vicars, who are named, pay no attention when the Bible is read in their common hall, but sit gossiping over the fire all the time the reading is going on.

There is a melancholy list of *defectus ac ruinæ patentes* in a very large number of parish churches. The architectural revival of the fifteenth century did not penetrate into every parish. Page after page tells of neglect, decay, and desolation. Sometimes the chancel, sometimes the nave, or the windows, or the tower, the lead on the roof or its timbers, or the furniture of the church are presented as ruinous, defective, and insufficient. In one church we are told that the churchwardens scarcely make provision more than once in the year for the washing of the albs, surplices, and altar-linen. Jangling and talking in service-time is reported in the same church, and complaint is made that when sermons are preached, although notice is duly given to the parishioners, "the most part of them cummeth not at all." In another place we find the parishioners complaining that they have had no parish priest for three quarters of a year. The inhabitants of another parish desire to have their belief expounded to them three times in the

year,—certainly no unreasonable request,—whilst the dwellers in another complain that “Mr. Vicar abydes not emange us, as a curette awght to do.” In another case the vicar is presented as having been absent from his benefice a year and more. Complaints are made of young people being permitted to carry on their sports and games, such as hand-ball and football, in the churchyards of certain places, and of pedlars being allowed to bring out and sell their wares in the church porch. The presentments are multifarious, and give a remarkable insight into the state of the church during the period they cover. Carelessness, irreverence, and apathy, it is obvious, on the part of the priesthood, prevailed to a very great extent, and graver accusations as regards morals, on which we desire not to dwell more particularly, are not unfrequently made.

The Church was undoubtedly losing ground, to a great extent, in the affections of the more religious-minded amongst the people, especially in that great middle class which was day by day rising into greater importance. A revival of spiritual life was urgently needed, beyond all question.

In days gone by the want would have been met, or attempted to be met, by the foundation of some new religious order, which, by the strictness of its rule, and the holy lives of its members, would seek to impress upon men’s hearts the lessons of a pure morality and the paramount obligation of religion. But the time had gone by for the foundation of new monastic institutions. The liberality of pious churchmen and devout laymen found another channel for

their bounty in the erection of new colleges in the Universities for the promotion of learning. Schools also were founded. We have an instance of both in the prelate who occupied the chair of Paulinus in the closing years of the fifteenth century. The foundation of Lincoln College, Oxford, which had been begun by Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, in 1428, was completed by his successor Thomas Rotherham, afterwards Archbishop of York, who in 1479 finished the buildings of the college, augmented the number of fellows and gave it a body of statutes.

Rotherham was a Yorkshireman, born at the town of that name. He held many great preferments, was chancellor in the reign of Edward IV., and became Archbishop of York in 1480. After his elevation to that see he took no part in public affairs, devoting himself entirely to the oversight of his diocese. He cherished a great affection for his birthplace, and in 1482 laid the foundation of a college there, which was formally constituted by his own ordinary and metropolitan authority in the following year. He endowed it for a provost and two fellows. The provost was to preach the word of God in the parishes of Rotherham, Laxton, and Ecclesfield, and in other places within the diocese of York. The duty of the fellows was carefully laid down. One was to teach grammar, poetry, and rhetoric; the other music. Six poor boys were to be maintained in the college until the age of eighteen, and to receive instruction in the subjects mentioned. His primary object seems to have been to train these boys in such a manner that they might hereafter be fitted for the priesthood. But

in his will he extends the benefits of his foundation. He provides that a third fellow should be appointed. He states that he had observed that there were many quick-witted youths in the place and neighbourhood whose tastes pointed in the direction of mechanical arts, and pursuits of a secular kind, rather than to the scholarship and learning which constituted a vocation for the priesthood, and he assigned to this third fellow the duty of giving instruction in those more homely and simple branches of education, writing and arithmetic, free of all charge, to those who should be sent to receive it. The Archbishop's will breathes a deep spirit of piety throughout, and no one can read it without feeling that its expression of deep humility and earnest prayers for the blessing of the Most High upon the provision he was making for the training of the young in a place which he loved with an abiding affection, were the utterances of a good and holy man, who was not unmindful of the gifts and blessings he had himself received from the Lord of all.¹ The endowment of the college was a munificent one. It escaped confiscation under Henry VIII., but it fell never to rise again under Edward VI.'s Act for the suppression of chantries, colleges, and gilds.

¹ "Test. Ebor." iv. pp. 138 et seq.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE latter years of the fifteenth century and the earlier decades of the sixteenth, on which we are now entering, constituted a period of transition, social, intellectual, and religious. The power of the baronage had become weakened by the wars of the Roses. The middle class was rising into more importance. Trade organizations were acquiring greater solidity. The grants of charters of incorporation, which during the reign of Henry VI. were multiplied, gave a more definite character to the municipal institutions of the more important towns and cities, and the rich merchants who dwelt in them began to ally themselves with the families of the gentry; and when the rich merchant or the great burgher "found acceptance in the circles of the gentry, civic offices became an object of competition with the knights of the county; their names were enrolled among the religious fraternities of the towns, the trade and craft guilds; and as the value of a seat in parliament became better appreciated, it was seen that the readiest way to it lay through the office of mayor, recorder, or alderman of some city corporation."¹

But the intellectual development was yet more remarkable, especially amongst the clergy. It is almost

¹ Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. p. 596.

needless to say how this development was stimulated by the uprising of that mighty art which utterly superseded the slow and laborious toil of the transcribers of the books of Holy Scripture, of manuals of devotion, of historical chronicles, of the treatises of the philosopher and the verses of the poet. The introduction of the art of printing revolutionized everything. It stimulated a thirst for knowledge, and it furnished material wherewith to slake that thirst. "Books, from slow, toilsome, costly productions, became cheap, were multiplied with rapidity which seemed like magic, and were accessible to thousands to whom manuscripts were utterly unapproachable. The power, the desire, increased with the facility of reading."¹

Printing, as we all know, was introduced into England by Caxton, who was carrying on his work at Westminster in 1474. Before the close of the century a press was set up in the city of York. It is an interesting testimony to the importance of York, for with the exception of the University of Oxford and the monastery of St. Alban's, where books are said to have been printed as early as 1480, it is the only provincial town where the art of typography is known to have been practised previously to the commencement of the sixteenth century.

It speedily put an end to one branch of industry which had long been carried on at York to a very considerable extent. As early as the reign of Edward III. the *scriptoria* of the monasteries had

¹ Milman's "Latin Christianity," ix. p. 348.

ceased to be the only places where books were transcribed and multiplied. Numbers of lay persons became engaged in the copying of MSS. So numerous, in fact, had they become, that they obtained the privilege of incorporating themselves as a separate company or society, with their own ordinances and bye-laws. Records of their bye-laws occur in the city archives as early as the beginning of Richard II.'s reign. They carried on a flourishing trade during the fifteenth century, under the name of Text-writers. The craft included several classes of workmen,—the limners, or illuminators of capital letters in the more choice MSS. ; the “notours,” who put in the musical notation in the missals and other service books ; the “turnours” and the “flourishers,” who added the graceful and delicate ornamentation which so often adds a singular beauty to the wide margin of some choice specimen of the Text-writer's skilful pen.

The establishment of a printing-press in York dates from about 1496, the year when a Dutchman named Frederic Freez probably settled in that city. At all events we find that in the following year his name was enrolled upon the register of freemen under the designation of “Bokebynder and Stacyoner.” It is clear that printing was included under the latter term. Wynkyn de Worde in his will, dated 1534, describes himself as “citizen and stationer” ; and we have definite proof as regards Freez. In a legal proceeding to which he was a party a few years after his settlement in York he is styled a “buke prynter.” No book issuing from his press is however known to be now in existence.

The importing and selling of printed books was carried on in the first decade of the sixteenth century by a brother of Frederic Freez, Gerard by name, who afterwards adopted the surname of Wanseford. In all likelihood he also was a "buke- prynter." "We may plausibly conjecture," says Mr. Davies, "that the two Dutchmen who ultimately settled at York, had, before they migrated to England, belonged to that noble band of printers of whom the great Wynkyn de Worde was one, who are said to have worked under Faust and Caxton at Mentz and Köln."¹ Certain it is from Gerard's will, which bears date 3rd October, 1510, that Wynkyn de Worde was an intimate friend of the testator. The statute passed 1 Richard III., c. ix., by which foreign printers and stationers were invited to come to England, and the encouragement given by it to the importation of printed books gave unquestionably no trifling impetus to the progress of the art itself in this country.

All this was silently preparing the way for what is known as the New Learning. It was assuredly needful that some effort should be made to promote the cultivation of a higher literature, both in the grammar-schools and in the universities of England. In the former no instruction whatever was given in the Greek language, whilst in the latter its study was discouraged in every possible way. It was even declaimed against from the pulpit as an infallible source and fountain of heresy and irreligion.

¹ "Memorials of York Press," p. 9.

The revival of learning had its origin in Italy, and dates from the Council of Florence (1439-1442), at which an attempt was made to effect the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches. It brought many learned Greek theologians to Italy, some of whom conformed to the Roman communion. Of these Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicæa, afterwards a cardinal, was the most eminent. A great impulse was given by these men to the study of Greek. But the movement was not confined to Italy. It spread like an advancing tide from one country to another, until all Europe had felt its impulse. Youths went to Italy from all parts to study classical literature—especially the Greek language. Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet travelled thither from England with that end in view. The latter, who in after days became Dean of St. Paul's and the munificent founder of St. Paul's school, was at this time connected with the diocese of York. Young as he then was, and only in minor orders, he was already canon and prebendary of Botevant in its minster. On his return in 1497 he became acquainted with Erasmus, who was then in England for the first time. It was an acquaintance which soon ripened into the closest friendship. It was shared also with Grocyn and Linacre, as is abundantly testified by the correspondence of that great scholar who occupies so prominent a place in the literary history of the generation immediately preceding the Reformation.

The intimacy between Colet and Erasmus commenced at Oxford, where the former was giving lectures upon the Pauline epistles after his return

from his foreign travels. The two had many discussions upon theological subjects, which were continued by letter after Erasmus' departure from Oxford. Colet's views were marvellously in advance of his age. His great object was to dethrone the schoolmen from the place they occupied in the teaching of the universities and as the groundwork of pulpit instruction, and to exalt in their stead the study of Holy Scripture and a simpler mode of expounding God's Holy Word, free from the scholastic subtleties which too often obscured its meaning and hindered its proper effect upon the hearts of the people. His arguments had evidently great weight with Erasmus, though there was not always an absolute agreement between them. On one point they were unanimous, that the reformation of the Church was a necessity. Corruption of morals amongst churchmen was evidently great. Colet speaks of it with a sort of mournful pity, making charitable allowance for human frailty when enforced celibacy was the rule. Laxity of conduct bore its natural fruit. Preaching had fallen into desuetude. It was a novelty when Colet began to preach from the pulpit of St. Paul's on the festivals of the Church, and the style of his sermons was new also. He interested his hearers by taking up a subject from the gospels, and pursuing it through a series of discourses. Crowds flocked to hear him, for his addresses were so simple in their style that they were not above the comprehension of the unlearned citizens, yet so thoughtful as to arrest the attention of those of the highest culture. Amongst his auditors was one whose character is

one of the most attractive of those who eagerly and enthusiastically drank in the New Learning—the author of “Utopia,” the future Chancellor of England, Sir Thomas More, a name which still commands the veneration of all who can estimate wit and learning, and reverence the memory of one who would sacrifice his life rather than forego his conscientious convictions.

There were other things besides decay of morals and infrequency of preaching which exercised the minds of thoughtful and serious minded men like Colet, and which he discussed without reserve in the unrestrained intercourse of private life. Of that private life we have a charming picture by the hand of Erasmus. He brings the very man before us. His kindly hospitality, his genial talk with his friends, his personal simplicity of life and his deep religious feeling are most vividly portrayed. The subjects of his conversation were many and varied. Auricular confession, the use of images as aids of devotion, the compulsory recitation by priests of the lengthened offices of the breviary, pilgrimages to the shrines of favourite saints, the adoration of relics of doubtful authenticity or of absolute falsity—all afforded matter for discussion and animadversion when he had a guest like Erasmus at his table, or when they were journeying together to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham or that of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The contempt with which Colet regarded the exhibition of St. Thomas’ slipper at Harbledown, and the linen rags at Canterbury with which the martyr was said to have wiped his nose, is

graphically narrated by Erasmus in his *Modus orandi Deum*; and there can be little doubt that he designates Colet under the name of "Gratianus Pullus"¹ in his *Peregrinatio Religionis ergo*.

But the expression of Colet's views was not confined to conversation with friends of congenial sentiments. His public utterances were often bold enough, especially the sermon which he preached at the command of Archbishop Warham before the clergy in convocation in the year 1512. If the men of the New Learning urged on reformation in the mode of teaching in the school or the college, they desired also to see the Church reformed. And Colet's voice in this sermon gave no uncertain sound. It was plain from this discourse that they "looked forward, not to a reform of doctrine but to a reform of life, not to a revolution which should sweep away the older superstitions which they despised, but to a regeneration of spiritual feeling before which those superstitions would inevitably fade away." Colet was soon charged with heresy by the Bishop of London. Warham, however, protected him; and Henry, to whom the Dean was denounced, bade him go boldly on. "Let every man have his own doctor," said the young king after a long interview, "but this man is the doctor for me."²

¹ "Colet seems to have been remarkable for the plainness of his attire. We find Erasmus, in one of his epistles, particularly noting this: "Non nisi *pullis* vestibus utebatur, cum illic vulgò sacerdotes et theologi vestiantur purpurâ."—Erasmi Ep. Jo. Jonæ, id. Jun. 1521.

² Green's Hist. ii. p. 88.

The foundation of St. Paul's school by Dean Colet was the first great step taken as regarded the education of the youth of England upon a higher and better system. He took counsel with Erasmus at almost every step when he was perfecting his arrangements for his great work. It was the first public school where Greek was taught as well as Latin.¹ There is something singularly suggestive and touching in the account Erasmus gives of the arrangements of the school. They would scarcely have been so minutely recorded by that great scholar if they had not been unique in their character. An image of the Saviour of the world is placed over the Master's seat, but He is not represented on the cross of shame. Their eyes were to look up to Jesus in the simplicity of the Holy Childhood,—that character in which children to the end of time are to love and venerate him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me." The words, "Hear ye Him," were placed above the image at Erasmus' suggestion. Day after day when the school was opened a hymn of praise to Jesus was sung by the scholars with eyes reverently directed to the image of the Divine Child. It was chanted also when the labours of the day were ended. Colet recognised the truth that the art of the sculptor and the painter had a holy use as well as a superstitious application. The latter he condemned,² the former

¹ See Knight's "Life of Dr. John Colet," &c. (Oxford, 1823), p. 17.

² One of the accusations of heretical teaching brought against him was grounded upon his having condemned the worship of images.—See Knight's "Life," &c., p. 83.

he vindicated; and the young scholars who sang their matin and vesper hymns before the sculptured representation of their Saviour's form would assuredly be told,—

Effigiem Christi dum transis pronus honora,
At non effigiem sed Quem designat adora.

Education began to be carried out under better auspices at the universities also. Collet had commenced this at Oxford. A similar impulse was given at Cambridge. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and chancellor of that university, invited Erasmus thither, who, through his influence, was promoted to the Margaret Professorship of Divinity in 1511, and subsequently to the Greek professor's chair.

Fisher's name is connected with the diocese of York. He was born at Beverley, and in his earlier life was vicar of Northallerton. Erasmus gives him a noble character, describing him as "*vir omnium episcopaliū virtutum cumulativissimus.*"¹ He was confessor to the king's grandmother, the Countess of Richmond, and it was believed that it was through his influence with her that the advancement of learning was promoted at Cambridge by the foundation of the two colleges of Christ's and St. John's, and of divinity professorships in both universities. In recognition of these services in the cause of learning he was chosen Chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

Other names occur in connection with York of

Erasmi Epist. ad Card. Gimani, prid cal. Apr. 1515.

men who loved and honoured the great scholar who had so much to do with the revival of learning in England. Christopher Urswick was one. He had held two prebendal stalls in succession, Tockerington and Fridaythorpe, and subsequently became Dean of York and Archdeacon of Richmond. He befriended Erasmus on many occasions, and to him the latter dedicated his translation of Lucian's "Gallus" in 1503. Young, who became Dean of York in 1514, was another. To him Erasmus inscribed a translation of Plutarch, "*De tuenda valetudine.*"

Neither of the two prelates who succeeded Rotherham in the archiepiscopal chair of York can be identified with the great movement which had so much to do with the impending reformation of the Church of this country. Savage, who was translated to York from Rochester, has left no tradition behind him except that he was a mighty hunter. Bainbrigg, who followed him, had at one time been Dean of York. He afterwards became Bishop of Durham, from which see he was translated to York in 1508. His latter years were passed altogether at Rome, where he acted as an ambassador from the King of England. In 1511 he received a cardinal's hat from the warrior-Pope Julius II. In 1514 he came to an untimely end by poison, the vengeful act, as it was said, of an Italian priest in his household who had been grievously offended by the Archbishop's ungovernable temper. But there is another version of the story. The Bishop of Worcester, who was an Italian, was associated with Bainbrigg in the business he had to transact at Rome. The latter discovered some mal-

versation on the part of his colleague, and reported it to the king. The priest Rinaldo, who administered the poison, was put to the torture, and declared that the dark crime was due to the revengeful spirit of the Bishop of Worcester, who had instigated him to its commission. Cardinal Bainbrigg was succeeded by Wolsey, the most remarkable figure, perhaps, in many ways, which appears on the long roll of the Archbishops of the great diocese of York. Yet no Archbishop, probably, saw so little of his diocese as Wolsey. He had been connected, indeed, in early life with the church of York as canon of Bugthorpe, and afterwards as dean. The latter preferment he resigned when he became Bishop of Lincoln. From thence he was translated to York in 1514, and held the see of Durham, and afterwards that of Winchester *in commendam* with it. But, strange to say, he never was at York during the whole time he was Archbishop, and the only indication of any care for the spiritual interests of the people who were subject to his episcopal rule consists in a recapitulation which he issued, about 1518, of the constitutions of his predecessors. These are given at great length, and their observance strictly enjoined.¹ It was not until after his disgrace that he even entered his diocese.

Wolsey can scarcely be numbered amongst that band of scholars who, like Colet, Erasmus, Linacre, Grocyn, and More, gave such an impetus to the cultivation of learning. His transcendent abilities were directed to the organization of a great national policy,

¹ Wilkins' "Concilia," iii. p. 662.

both at home and abroad. But he was too astute a man not to see how important a part was being played by the New Learning which had sprung up, and he took measures to promote its spread by the magnificent foundation at Oxford which bore for a time the name of Cardinal College, and a smaller one at his native town of Ipswich. The endowments attached to these foundations were not, however, the outcome of the cardinal's personal munificence. They came from another source,—from the suppression of forty of the smaller monasteries,—“certain exile and small monasteries, wherein neither God is served ne religion kept.” So Wolsey describes them in his letter to the king.

But it was no high-handed act of mere arbitrary power. All was done in due form, the dissolution being sanctioned by two Bulls of Pope Clement VII., one dated April, 1524, the second in March of the following year. A proviso was embodied in them that the consent of the king, and the representatives of the founders of the different religious houses, should be obtained. Letters patent were accordingly granted by the king, and the suppression was effected.

It was not an act devoid of precedent. Alien priories in England had heretofore been dissolved, and, either by royal grant or by purchase, they had, in more than one instance, come into the hands of ecclesiastics whose attachment to the church was indubitable, and their revenues applied to educational purposes. It was from this source that William of Wykeham endowed his colleges at Winchester and Oxford. Chicheley and Waynflete endowed in like

manner All Souls and Magdalen. Fisher likewise was the means of procuring the dissolution of certain monasteries on the ground of the corruption of their inmates, and their possessions were devoted by Margaret, Countess of Richmond (as has been already mentioned), to the endowment of the colleges and professorships which she founded in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It does not appear that any particular feeling was evoked, by these proceedings. But Wolsey was dealing in a more wholesale manner. The number suppressed at one blow was rather startling, and an uneasy feeling was awakened in the minds of many who had a sort of prophetic instinct that it would be followed, at no distant day, by other blows at the great monastic institutions of the country. A remarkable indication of this feeling is exhibited in a letter addressed to Wolsey by Edmund Whalley, the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, in which he remonstrates strongly against the suppression of a small monastery in Suffolk which belonged to that abbey. It betrays great alarm, and if the little monastery might only be spared he offers the sum of 300 marks sterling towards his Grace's "speciall, honourable, and laudable purpose concerning the erection and foundation of the said college and schoole."¹

It was not long before the forebodings of far-sighted men like the Abbot of St. Mary's were realized. The suppression of these small monastic establishments

¹ "Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries" (Pub. Camden Soc.), p. 3.

was the harbinger of another interference with the religious houses. Further powers of dealing with monastic property were soon obtained. In 1528 another bull was granted by the pope which sanctioned the dissolution of as many monasteries as would bring in a yearly revenue of 8,000 ducats, with the proviso that those only should be suppressed whose inmates did not exceed six in number. About the same time a further bull was issued, at the king's request, for the suppression of other religious houses, of both sexes, whose numbers respectively fell short of twelve, and the annexation of their possessions to the greater monasteries. The reason assigned to the pope for making this request was this :—an idea had suggested itself to the king that some of the larger and richer monastic establishments in the great towns should be made episcopal sees, and that the endowments of the latter should be furnished out of the revenues of the former. It does not appear that the pope showed any unwillingness to sanction the proposed arrangement, for in the following year he sent a commission giving the necessary powers to establish as many new sees as might be deemed requisite.

These proceedings were obviously tentative, but they seem to indicate, not very obscurely, the lines upon which Wolsey would have proceeded with reference to the reformation of the Church of this country, for we can scarcely doubt that the papal bulls were procured at his suggestion. We may not unreasonably, perhaps, assume that the monastic institutions were doomed in his mind to a gradual extinction. Their wealth would probably have been

utilized in two directions, the promotion of higher education, and a more effective supervision by the fathers of the Church in the great centres of a growing population. One thing is clear, that there was in Wolsey's mind not even the faintest indication of a breach with the great Patriarchate of the West. And it is noteworthy that this diversion of monastic property to objects totally different to the intentions of those who originally bestowed it met with no disapproval on the part of the Apostolic see, ominous as were the forebodings of those amongst the churchmen of the day whose conservative instincts were adverse to any change whatever.

But there was a strong reforming spirit abroad in the land. It was clear that disorders existed in the Church which required purification and healing by some powerful agency. In this country no single leader sprung up, as Luther did in Germany, to attack some definite abuse, as he had done with respect to the system of Indulgences, or to propound some new deductions from Holy Scripture, as when he taught with such energy and fervour his doctrine of Justification by Faith alone. Those who, like Colet and others of a similar stamp, recognized the necessity of reform and proclaimed with sufficient distinctness the abuses which prevailed on every side, had no definitely-formed idea of uprooting either doctrine or ritual. They were distracted by no doubts respecting either. Their only thought was to eliminate such abuses as existed in either by reverting to a teaching more primitive in its tone, more simple in its language—teaching which, like that of Bede, was founded upon

devout contemplation of the Word of God, rather than the metaphysical subtleties of the schoolmen—teaching which should simplify worship and remove the accretions with which superstition had overlaid the venerable truths of the Church's faith.

Strangely enough, the hand which was to initiate a change which was destined ere long to result in that great work, the English Reformation, was that of the monarch who, in 1521, had sent to Pope Leo X. his reply to the great German reformer, and received in return the proud title of Defender of the Faith.

CHAPTER XVII.

WHATEVER Wolsey's ulterior projects might have been with regard to the reformation of the Church, circumstances arose to give it a direction which, but a very few years before, could never have been foreseen. The question of the divorce from Katherine brought Henry VIII. into violent collision with Rome. It ended in his throwing off all allegiance to the pope, and declaring himself to be the one supreme authority in all matters, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, within his realm of England. There was a sort of foreshadowing of this bold step in a treaty which was arranged in 1527 between Henry and Francis I., which contained a provision that "whatsoever by the cardinal of York, assisted by the prelates of England assembled and called together by the authority of the king, should be determined concerning the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in the said Kingdom of England should, the consent of the king being first had, be decreed and observed:" and corresponding stipulations were inserted in behalf of Francis and his clergy. Herbert, who relates this in his "Life of Henry VIII." (p. 209), remarks: "And here certainly began the taste that our king took of governing in chief the clergy." Some little time elapsed, however, before this "taste" was fully gratified.

In 1528 Cardinal Campeggio came over to

England to try the divorce. The king had submitted to appear before the Legatine Court (acting of course under the authority of a papal bull) for the trial of his case within his own realm. But the sentence, which Henry expected would be in his favour, was deferred. The court was adjourned by Campeggio, and the king was summoned to appear before the pope's tribunal at Rome. This was a degradation which the monarch could not brook. Wolsey was proceeded against for a violation of the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire as regarded the exercise of his Legatine power in England. His proceedings were no doubt an open contravention of those Acts. Practically, indeed, they were in abeyance,¹ but they remained upon the Statute book, and Henry took advantage of them to ruin his great minister. Judgment was given against him, and pardon was only granted on condition of his surrender of his property to the Crown. The king seized upon his stately palaces of York House and Hampton Court, and confiscated the vast wealth which he had accumulated. He was allowed however to retain the Northern primacy and to reside at Cawood, one of the residences attached to it, a few miles from the city of York.

¹ "The need of papal support to their disputed title, which had been felt by the Houses of Lancaster and York, had held these statutes in suspense, and the Legatine Court of Wolsey had openly defied them. They were still, however, legally in force; they were part of the parliamentary tradition; and it was certain that parliament would be as ready as ever to enforce the independent jurisdiction of the crown."—Green's "Hist." &c., ii. p. 147.

Here he took up his abode, and was making arrangements for his enthronization in the minster, when he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland on a charge of high treason, and left Cawood on that melancholy journey which was ended by the death of the great cardinal at Leicester Abbey on the 29th Nov., 1530. He was succeeded at York by Edward Lee, the king's almoner, a canon of York and Chancellor of Salisbury, who was consecrated on the 10th Dec., 1531. He had been sent the year before to Bologna along with the Earl of Wiltshire and Dr. Stokesley (bishop elect of London), to lay before the pope and the emperor the decision of the Universities in favour of the King's new marriage.

Wolsey's condemnation had some far-reaching consequences. With that strange adherence to technicalities which so often besets the legal mind, it was held by the judges that the *nation* was involved in the penalties of Præmunire by having accepted Wolsey's authority. A general pardon was issued, but, either by design or oversight, it did not include the clergy. Early in 1531 they were summoned to appear in convocation. They were pardoned, it is true, but at a prodigious cost. The Province of Canterbury was required to pay £100,000, and that of York £18,840. They were required also to acknowledge the king to be "sole protector and supreme head of the Church." Great reluctance was exhibited to an acquiescence in the latter demand, and after a prolonged debate in the southern convocation, it was only at last accepted on the understanding that the words *quantum per Christi legem licet* should

be inserted as a qualification. This took place March 22nd, 1531.

The York convocation hesitated still longer before they consented to recognize the title claimed by the king. The month of May arrived before they came to any conclusion. The see of York had not yet been filled up, and Tunstall, the Bishop of Durham, appears to have taken a leading part in their deliberations, to which his learning, ability, and high position well entitled him. Tunstall considered that the qualification *quantum per Christi legem licet*, was not free from ambiguity, that it might relate either to spirituals or temporals, or both; and he was desirous that the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy should be so expressed as to leave no doubt as to its being absolutely limited to civil and secular jurisdiction. On this ground he entered his protest against the demand. But the Northern convocation ultimately submitted to the requirement of the king, as their brethren of the South had already done.

This was the first stroke of the axe which eventually severed the connection of the Church of England with the Apostolic See. It was done at the suggestion of one of the boldest, most astute, and most unscrupulous ministers who have ever directed a nation's policy. Wolsey's fall was the occasion of Cromwell's rise. The earlier life of Thomas Cromwell had been a chequered one. His origin was obscure. His youth was partly spent as a soldier in the wars of Italy, partly in commercial pursuits in the Low Countries; and, on his return to England, he was employed by Wolsey in the management of the

business transactions connected with that suppression of the smaller monasteries which was carried out in 1524.

The suggestion made by Cromwell to Henry met with no unwilling acceptance, for it offered a solution of the difficulties which surrounded him with reference to the divorce question. His counsel was that the king should repudiate papal jurisdiction altogether, and obtain the freedom he desired by a judgment issuing from his own ecclesiastical courts. It was not long before this was accomplished. The death of Archbishop Warham in 1532 opened the way for the elevation of one whose name, next to that of Cromwell, occupies a more prominent place in the annals of the divorce, and generally as regards the English Reformation, than that of any other single individual. Warham was succeeded in the primacy by Cranmer. He had recommended himself to Henry by having sometime before expressed himself in favour of a settlement of the controversy respecting the divorce by a reference to the two universities, whose decision should be accepted without its being submitted to the final adjudication of the pope. He had also written a book in which he laid it down that the dispensation for Henry's marriage with Katherine being contrary to the law of God, and the decisions of councils and fathers of the Church, must be regarded as utterly devoid of authority. He had also been sent to Rome to maintain the king's cause at the papal court. On the 30th March, 1533, he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, application having been previously made

in the accustomed manner for the papal bulls authorizing the consecration, the delivery of the pall, and other customary formalities. No opposition was offered by the pope, and the bulls were issued. They required *inter alia* that the Archbishop elect should take an oath of canonical obedience to the pope. This obedience Cranmer certainly never meant to pay, but he took the oath nevertheless, salving his conscience by making a previous protest in the presence of some chosen witnesses that in so doing he did not intend to bind himself to anything contrary to God's law, to the king's authority, or to such reforms as he might deem salutary to the Church of England. No special pleading can acquit Cranmer of disingenuousness, not to say of dishonesty, in thus dealing with a solemn oath.

At this time Henry had already been married to Anne Boleyn. The ceremony took place privately on the 25th January, 1533. It was commonly reported that Cranmer had officiated at this marriage, but that was not the case.¹ His subservience to the monarch's wishes was, however, speedily shown. Katherine was cited to appear at an ecclesiastical court held at Dunstable under the presidency of the new primate, duly licensed by the king, but she stedfastly refused to obey the citation.

¹ Cranmer writes to Hawkins, the English ambassador at the court of the Emperor Charles V., "it has been reported throughout a great part of the realm that I married her; which was plainly false, for I myself knew not thereof a fortnight after it was done."—Ellis, "Orig. Letters," 1st series, ii. p. 89.

At this court the authority of Rome was deliberately and advisedly ignored, and Cranmer pronounced a judgment on the 23rd May, 1533, whereby Henry's first marriage was declared null and void. The coronation of Anne Boleyn took place at once with all the pomp and circumstance that could be given to the ceremonial, Cranmer placing the crown upon her head.

It is needless to say that these proceedings gave dire offence at Rome. Clement VII., as might have been expected, at once reversed Cranmer's sentence. But Cromwell's policy had already followed up the line that was indicated by Henry's forcing upon the two convocations the acknowledgment of his headship over the Church. An Act had been passed (23 Hen. VIII., c. 20., A.D. 1531) whereby the payment of annates or first fruits to the pope had been forbidden. Another enactment followed (24 Hen. VIII., c. 12, A.D. 1532) relating to appeals. The preamble of this statute recognized in no doubtful terms the rightful claims of that "part of the body politic called the spirituality, now being usually called the English Church," to manage its own affairs, "without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons." By a further statute (25 Hen. VIII., c. 19) the free action of the Church in her legislative capacity was utterly crippled. Heretofore, the Archbishop of either province could call his clergy together to meet in synod whenever he thought fit to do so; the king at the same time having the right to summon the clergy of both provinces by a royal writ to parliament, and likewise to direct the summoning of the

convocations by the Archbishops. And such mandates were occasionally issued. But it was now provided that convocation could only be assembled by the king's writ; that not a step could be taken with regard to making any new canons or ecclesiastical regulations of whatever kind, without license from the Crown; and that when made they would be devoid of force without a formal sanction from the same supreme authority.

This statute was the harbinger of one which speedily followed (26 Hen. VIII., c. 1)—that which was to concentrate in the Crown the supreme authority over things spiritual as well as things temporal. This great statute enacted that the king "shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England with full power to visit, repress, redress, reform, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities which, by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, might or may lawfully be reformed."

Before the royal assent was formally given to this act, measures were carefully taken to ascertain the feeling of the clergy, of the universities, and of the monastic bodies respecting so great and momentous a change as it involved. The renunciation of the papal authority and the proposition that Holy Scripture gives no sanction to the exercise on the part of the pope of any higher jurisdiction than that of any other bishop met with general acceptance. Lee, the Archbishop of York, forwarded a declaration to this effect from the convocation of the northern province, dated June 1st, 1534. The convocation of Canter-

bury drew up and sent in a similar declaration. Several bishops did the like, as emanating from their respective dioceses, as did also several capitular bodies, together with four and thirty abbots of the most important monasteries. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge likewise expressed their assent. The number of dissentients was inconsiderable. Of these the most eminent, amongst ecclesiastics, was the venerable Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was beheaded soon afterwards, on the 22nd June, 1535, upon a charge of high treason. His main crime was that he refused to take the oath imposed by the act of 25 Hen. VIII., c. 22, which maintained the succession of Anne Boleyn's children, and implied of course the absolute nullity of Henry's marriage with Katherine of Arragon. The next victim of the act was Sir Thomas More, who was beheaded July 6th, 1535.

They were not the only sufferers. The opposition to the new doctrine of the king's supremacy was most strenuous on the part of the Carthusians, who, whatever view may be taken of their conclusions on that point, were assuredly the purest and holiest by far of all the monastic orders of the period. They soon found the weight of the king's hand. Houghton, the Prior of the Charterhouse, was hanged on April 27, 1535. Two of his monks shared his fate on June 18, and nine others suffered the penalty of death on August 4 following.

The way was clear now for the carrying out of Cromwell's plans as regarded the monastic houses. They were at the mercy of the king. No longer

could they plead papal exemption from episcopal visitation. All jurisdiction was now vested in the Crown. It was soon to be exercised by his ruthless and powerful minister. In 1535 the sovereign assumed the designation of Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, and appointed Cromwell his vicegerent, or vicar-general, in all matters ecclesiastical. He lost no time in sending commissioners to hold a visitation of the monastic houses throughout the country, to examine into their state, moral and religious, and to scrutinize the mode in which they had managed their property and administered their revenues. Articles of inquiry, 86 in number, were placed in the hands of the visitors. They were of the most minute and stringent character.

Dr. Layton and Dr. Legh were the visitors in the diocese of York. Particulars respecting some of the houses they visited may be gleaned from the letters which Cromwell received during the time they were engaged in their work. The Abbot of Rievaulx refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the visitors, and was, moreover, ill reported of by the whole neighbourhood for his "dissolute living," and his wrongful dealings, both as regarded the monks under his rule and others, tenants, apparently, upon the estates of the monastery.¹ The Prior of Bridlington writes a most humble letter to the great minister, and sends a "poor token,"—in other words, a bribe—by his brother, the bearer of the epistle, in the hope, doubtless, of securing as good terms as might be.

¹ "Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries" (Pub. Camden Soc.), p. 61.

Layton writes to report that in Yorkshire they "fynde gret corruption emongiste persons religieuse, even lyke as we dyde in the sowthe."¹ They were proceeding on the day on which he wrote to visit St. Mary's Abbey, where they were led to expect "much evil disposition, bothe in thabbot and the convent." He reports also, by the way, as it were, that the Dean of York and the Treasurer of the minster were squabbling one with the other as to the terms on which the former was to resign the deanery in favour of the latter. A joint epistle from the two visitors enters at some length into the delinquencies of the Abbot of Fountains,² who is charged with having dilapidated his house, wasted the woods upon the monastic estate, and only a week before their arrival had embezzled plate and jewels out of the sacristy of the church, and sold them to a London goldsmith. His private life was also immoral. They made him acknowledge his delinquencies, and advised and almost insisted upon his resignation. But there was some difficulty as to finding a suitable successor. Fountains was a great monastery, and was not one which was then to be suppressed. "There is never a monke in that howse," they told Cromwell, "mete for that rowme." They suggest, however, the appointment of a former monk called Marmaduke Bradley, then a prebendary of Ripon, whom they describe as the wisest monk in England, and, what was probably of greater importance, one who was ready to give

¹ "Letters," &c., p. 81.

² William Thresk, or Thirsk. He was afterwards executed for his share in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Cromwell 600 marks if he would make him abbot, to be paid down at once after his election. He had also given them to understand that he was in a position to pay the first-fruits to the king (amounting to £1,000) without fail within three years. The visitors further intimate to Cromwell that if Marmaduke were made abbot he would have the prebendal stall at Ripon to dispose of. Marmaduke became the head of Fountains, but he quite declined to give up his prebend. "The wisest monk within England," saw plainly enough that the monastic houses were doomed. "Of very trewthe," said he to Cromwell, "this howse that I am preferred in, is so farre in danger, all maner of wayes, that I have raither wyll to resign the abbotship than my prebend." It ended in his retaining both.¹

The report of the commissioners was laid before Parliament. As regarded the state of the greater monasteries it was not, on the whole, unfavourable. The lesser houses were described as being, for the most part, dissolute in their lives, wasteful as regarded the management of their property, and heedless of the obligations which their vows imposed. The charges made as to relaxation of morals were of the most repulsive character. That there was only too much room for accusations against the clergy and many of the monks for immorality is a thing that cannot be gainsaid, for there is evidence respecting it of a much more unimpeachable character than that which is furnished by the visitors of the monasteries. We

¹ "Memorials of Fountains Abbey" (Pub. Surtees Soc.), i. p. 286.

find, for example, a strict injunction given by Archbishop Lee to the treasurer of the Minster of Ripon, at a visitation held there little more than a twelve-month after these visitors had made their round, by which he was required at once to dismiss a certain Joan Calverley from his house, and to abstain from her company. Grave scandal had evidently been created by her living under his roof. Special injunctions were given at the same time to the vicars-choral of Ripon, who were bidden to eschew alehouses, cards, and dice, and, above all, to forbear "suspect company of women." The Ripon Chapter Acts contain, moreover, many instances of penances being assigned to priests for offences springing out of the system of enforced celibacy.

But there can be little doubt that the case was made as bad as it could be against the monks. The general condition of the religious houses was better probably than was represented. In some cases the visitors themselves were constrained to express their admiration of the holy, useful, and industrious lives of the inmates of some of the smaller establishments (which yet, almost in the same breath, they had denounced as incurably corrupt), and suggested that it were well that these should be maintained for the benefit of their respective neighbourhoods. It is scarcely credible, moreover, that if the monasteries were such sinks of iniquity as it was sought to make them out, the gentry throughout the country would have cultivated the friendly and neighbourly relations with abbot and prior and monk which they unquestionably did, or that they would have sent their children

to be instructed in the schools carried on within their walls.

But their doom was sealed. Remonstrances no doubt were made in more quarters than one. In April, 1536, we find Lee, the Archbishop of York, pleading with Cromwell for two within his jurisdiction.¹ One was the foundation of St. Oswald's at Nostell, which he represents as being not of necessity a religious house, but a *libera capella archiepiscopi*, of which the prior is removable at his pleasure; and that, if he thought fit, he could at any time make it into a college of secular canons. The other was Hexham, the position of which on the Borders rendered its maintenance, in every point of view, most desirable. The Archbishop's letter refers also to other matters. His archiepiscopal authority had been invoked by Cromwell to check the abstraction of movables, and plate and jewels, on the part of many of the abbots and monks, who, seeing that the storm was about to break, were disposed to do as much as might be for their own private advantage. The Archbishop seems to have done all he could, by private as well as public admonition to the members of the different monastic houses, to put some restraint upon these fraudulent proceedings, which had evidently been carried on to a very considerable extent. The Lord Mayor of York and other citizens, and specially the Master of the Mint there, were also warned of the risk which would be incurred if they became receivers of goods thus embezzled. The letter concludes with a reference to the injunctions about preaching which had issued from

¹ "Letters," &c., pp. 123-5.

the vicar-general. The Archbishop, it seems, had done his best to restrain the preaching of "novelties," but "yet they preach," said he, and some were contumacious enough to say that they would get the king's license to preach: but he hopes no such license would be granted without his privity. Some, he complains, allege that they have license of my Lord of Canterbury. It is somewhat amusing to see the way in which the old jealousy of Canterbury still animates the Northern primate:—"if they have, none shalbee obeyed here, but onlie the kinge's and youres."

The injunctions which had been issued on the subject of preaching were very stringent. The supremacy of the king in ecclesiastical matters was to be prominently brought before the people, and no one was to maintain the papal authority. On the subjects of purgatory, honouring of saints, clerical celibacy, justification by faith, pilgrimages, and alleged miracles, the lips of the preachers were to be sealed for a year. The marriage of the king, sanctioned as it had been by the determination of the most learned universities of Christendom, the convocations of the two provinces, and the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the realm in Parliament assembled, was no longer a matter for argument, but was to be accepted as "a thing of mere verity and so to be allowed in all men's opinions." On one point alone had they free liberty of speech,—namely, the pretended claim of the pope to pronounce upon the king's divorce, on which a preacher was not only permitted but enjoined to animadvert without let or hindrance.

The suppression of the smaller monasteries speedily followed the report given in by the visitors. The Act of Parliament for this dissolution was passed in 1536 (27 Hen. VIII., c. 28.) Three hundred and seventy-six of these religious foundations fell under this enactment, and their possessions were vested in the Crown. The yearly revenue from their estates was estimated at £32,000, and their goods and chattels were valued at about £100,000.

It was an act which provoked a deep feeling of indignation amongst the people generally, but most especially in the north of England. The number of religious persons whom it sent adrift in the world was very large. Monks and nuns wandered about the country in all directions, seeking food and shelter from those who sympathized with the pitiful stories they had to tell of being forced out of the home where they had fondly hoped to end their days. The people witnessed also, in many neighbourhoods, the desecration of the churches attached to the monastic houses, sometimes their absolute destruction; and, where this did not take place, their application to the meanest and most ignoble uses. It issued ere long in an insurrection of a very serious character.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE movement which followed the dissolution of the monasteries began in Lincolnshire. Wild stories were told, and met with ready credence, that the next step contemplated by the ruling powers was the pulling down of the parish churches, and the abstraction of their plate and ornaments. The clergy throughout the northern counties did all they could to foment disaffection. It was not a very difficult task, for other grievances, of a secular kind, were subjects of complaint. There was great discontent on account of the difficulties and complications arising from the working of the Statute of Uses. A change, moreover, was going on in the country, which was breaking up the old system of things. The development of trade had led the owners of property to see that it would be to their advantage to enclose the commons and turn their corn land into pasture. The small farms began to be absorbed by the larger holders, and the occupants of the former found their occupation gone. As in all such changes, Government was blamed, and Cromwell in particular met with no small share of popular hatred. The great nobility hated him as an upstart, the lower class ignorantly blamed and abused him as the author of changes by which they were injuriously affected, but which arose in reality from a variety of causes which no Government could control.

The first outburst took place at Louth. At the end of September, 1536, a nunnery near that town had been suppressed by the visitors, who left two of Cromwell's servants behind them to complete the work. This was followed by a great disturbance, which ended in their being put into the stocks and afterwards imprisoned. But more violent acts followed. Gatherings of the people took place at Caistor and at Horncastle, and an oath was demanded from all of fidelity to the king, the commonwealth, and Holy Church. The numbers were swelled by the clergy at the head of their parishioners, and the tumultuous assemblage was eagerly joined by ejected monks in large numbers. At Horncastle the rising assumed greater proportions. Here the country gentry, with Mr. Dymoke, their high sheriff, Thomas Makerell, the Abbot of Barlings, with his canons, all in armour, were gathered together; one of the retainers of the abbey carrying the banner which became so famous for the badges which it bore,—the chalice, and the five wounds of our Blessed Lord, a plough, and a horn. The plough was to show their sympathy with the grievances of the husbandman, and the horn was an allusion to the name of the place where they were assembling in so much force and with such determined resolution. For it was here that they formulated their demands upon the Crown. They were six in number:—(1.) The restoration of the religious houses. (2.) A remission of the subsidy. (3.) No more tenths and first-fruits to be paid by the clergy to the Crown. (4.) The repeal of the Statute of Uses. (5.) The removal of men of villein descent

from the Privy Council. (6.) The deprivation of certain bishops whom they stigmatised as heretical,—Cranmer, Latimer, Hilsey, the Bishop of Rochester, Brown, Archbishop of Dublin, and Longlands, their own diocesan. These articles were accepted with shouts of joy by the insurgents. The first act of absolute violence occurred at Horncastle. It was the murder of the Chancellor of Lincoln, who, as Cromwell's mouthpiece to the clergy of the diocese, was peculiarly obnoxious to them. A simultaneous outbreak, possibly a preconcerted one, took place at Lincoln. The bishop's palace was attacked and pillaged, the city speedily became the head-quarters of the insurgents, and here they awaited the king's answer to the demands which they had transmitted to him.

The duty of maintaining the peace of the county rested with Lord Hussey, the chief of the Lincolnshire nobles. On receiving the news of the insurrection the king wrote to Lords Hussey and Shrewsbury to do all they could in raising troops to overawe the rebels. Hussey's sympathies were with the insurgents, and he simply did nothing. Shrewsbury had anticipated the king's commands, and done his best to gather a force together. He remained at Nottingham. In the meantime the Duke of Suffolk advanced with great promptitude to Stamford, where he arrived on the 11th October. The rebels were reported to be about 60,000 in number. But their very strength proved their weakness. There had been no forethought, no arrangement. The individuals composing that formidable host had no provisions, except the

few days' rations they had brought from their homes, and when their scanty supplies were exhausted they rapidly dispersed.

Suffolk now sent the king's answer to the articles which had been sent from Horncastle. It was an unflinching denial of all that they had asked. No restoration of the suppressed houses need be looked for. It was a most presumptuous act to attempt to interfere with the king's prerogative of appointing whom he would as his counsellors. The Statute of Uses was above their comprehension. The subsidy was granted by Parliament and must be paid. And he concluded by commanding that the ringleaders should be given up to be punished as they deserved, and the rest to return to their homes and not imperil their lives or incur the forfeiture of their goods by wilful persistence in their rebellious action.

A debate was held. The wiser heads amongst them saw that the enterprise had little or no chance of success, though some hot-headed persons were very anxious to attack Suffolk at all hazards. But caution carried the day. Some of the most prominent leaders, Abbot Makerell and his canons amongst them, were given up, and a free pardon was given to the others. Thus, "in less than a fortnight a rebellion of 60,000 had subsided as suddenly as it had risen. Contrived by the monks and parish priests, it had been conducted without concert, without practical skill."

But the spirit which stirred up this abortive rising in Lincolnshire was dominant also in Yorkshire, and in that great county the insurrection assumed more

formidable proportions. Its leader was a man of more than ordinary courage and ability,—Robert Aske, the son of a Yorkshire gentleman of ancient descent and high connexions. Aske happened to be in Lincolnshire when the outbreak took place, and must have entered into it with no small amount of zeal, for the district between the Humber and Kirton was placed under his command. When Suffolk entered Lincoln it was clear that the power of the Lincolnshire rebels was broken, and Aske made his way back into Yorkshire. He there found that addresses, issued without his authority, but purporting to bear his signature, were posted in all public resorts, calling upon the people in impassioned terms to rise in defence of the Church and of their own means of living, and to bind themselves by the same oath which had been imposed by the leaders of the Lincolnshire rising. Aske's name was well known, and these forged addresses did their work. The bells were rung, calling the people to arms, and beacon fires were lighted on all the points of vantage from the Humber to the Cheviot Hills. All the towns in Yorkshire and the other northern counties were in a state of wild excitement, and Aske had literally no choice in the matter save to accept the position forced upon him and accept the leadership of that which was rapidly becoming no inconsiderable army. The Pilgrimage of Grace was making its onward march in the great shire of York.

The king now wrote to Lord Darcy of Templehurst, as he had previously done to Lord Hussey, repudiating the idea which prevailed that he intended to

meddle with the parish churches, and urging him to take measures for the suppression of the insurrection. Lord Darcy was adverse to the breach with Rome. He had no direct instructions from Henry, and he determined upon a policy of inaction, and shut himself up in Pontefract Castle with a small body of retainers. The Archbishop of York was with him.

On the 15th October Aske advanced upon York at the head of the main body of the insurgents. The inhabitants of that city were all favourable to their cause, and its gates were at once opened to them. The monks and nuns were invited to take possession again of the homes from which they had been expelled, and they sang their office that very night in the chapels of their convents. By this time the king had heard of Lord Darcy's inactivity, and wrote to him in great displeasure. Darcy replied that the insurgents were 60,000 in number, that Pontefract was untenable, and that it was impossible for him to procure supplies. The Duke of Suffolk having possessed himself of Lincoln, Shrewsbury was in a position to advance, and wrote to Lord Darcy promising to relieve Pontefract if he would hold his ground. Pontefract Castle was an important stronghold, and the rebel leader knew this as well as Shrewsbury. He knew also what Shrewsbury's intentions were, and he marched at once thither and demanded the surrender of the fortress. If it were refused it should at once be stormed. More than one conference between Lord Darcy and Aske took place, but the firmness of the latter prevailed and Pontefract was surrendered. Lord Darcy and the Archbishop of York

were sworn to the oath by which the insurgents bound themselves, and the former became at once one of the chief leaders of the insurgents.

Hull was the next place which was seized upon by the rebels, and one town after another was given up to them, for the feeling of the inhabitants was wholly with them. Skipton Castle, the fortress of the Cliffords, was the only one which held out for the king. A thrilling story is told by Mr. Froude ("Hist." iii. p. 141) of an attack made by the insurgents upon this stronghold. Lady Eleanor, Lord Clifford's young wife, with three young children, and several other ladies, were staying at Bolton Abbey when the insurrection broke out. It became known to the assailants where they were, and notice was sent to the Earl that they would seize upon them and hold them as hostages for his submission, and that on the day following, Lady Eleanor, her children, and the ladies, should be brought before the castle in front of a storming party, and that if Lord Clifford refused to surrender, they should be subjected to indignities worse than death. A brother of Robert Aske was, however, one of the garrison. He knew the country, and set forth at dead of night to Bolton Abbey, brought the ladies by unfrequented paths, eluded the vigilance of the besiegers, and brought them safely within the walls of the fortress. Unfortunately for this stirring narrative, it is not easily reconciled with certain dates in the Clifford pedigree. Lady Eleanor was not married until a year after the siege, and it does not appear that she ever had more than one child, a daughter, who was not born until 1540.

Lord Shrewsbury had advanced as far as Doncaster, but his force was insufficient to admit of his going further northward without reinforcements. The Duke of Norfolk was sent down to his assistance. He joined him on the 25th October, but was charged by the king to avoid an engagement unless he were absolutely certain of success.

Aske was now joined by representatives of the best blood of Yorkshire,—Lord Scrope of Bolton, Lord Latimer, Lord Lumley, Lord Conyers, Sir Thomas Percy, and many other well-known names, such as Fairfax, Constable, Evers, Bulmer, Tempest, Monckton, Mallory, Norton, &c., &c. The Cliffords, the Dacres, and the Musgraves were the only great houses who stood aloof and held to the king.

It was determined to march to Doncaster and confront Lord Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk. The insurgents' army presented an imposing array. Sir Thomas Percy, a younger brother of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, led the advanced guard of 5,000 men with the holy banner of St. Cuthbert upreared in their midst. The men of Holderness and the West Riding followed, with Aske and Lord Darcy at their head. The rearguard consisted of a body of horse, 12,000 strong, from the dales of Richmondshire and the bishopric of Durham. Sir Marmaduke Constable stated afterwards: "We were 30,000 men, as tall men, well horsed, and well appointed as any men could be."

The insurgents far outnumbered the force which was in front of them, and their leaders appear to have thought that Shrewsbury and Norfolk would yield

to their demands rather than risk an attack. Aske and the cooler heads amongst his followers were far from desirous of being the first to attack, urged though they were to do so by the clergy who accompanied their army. Had they yielded to the pressure thus brought upon them they would have forfeited all claim to the character of loyal subjects, which, in spite of appearances to the contrary, they ostentatiously professed themselves to be.

For two days they confronted each other without a blow being struck on either side. At the end of this time a herald came from the Duke of Norfolk offering to meet four of them in conference, in the town of Doncaster. Aske proposed an open conference on Doncaster bridge. After some negotiation this was agreed to. It took place on October 26th. The parley lasted from midday until darkness was closing in around them. The result was that a long series of articles containing their grievances and demands which they had handed in, was to be laid before the king by Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerker, whom the Duke of Norfolk engaged to present to their sovereign, and to do what he could to gain them a favourable hearing.

The articles were explicit enough. Some of them were of no great weight or moment, but there was no mistaking the *animus* of those which desired the destruction of the heresies of Luther, Wycliffe, and Huss, and sought to have certain books destroyed written by Bucer, Melancthon, and Tyndal, and the extirpation of Anabaptist heresies. The suppressed monasteries were to be restored, with their buildings,

lands, and goods ; and, above all, the Lord Cromwell and Sir Robert Rich were to "have condign punishment as subverters of the good laws of this realm and maintainers of the false sect of these heretics and first inventors and bringers in of them." They prayed also that a due meed of punishment should be awarded to Doctors Legh and Layton for their extortions, their bribery, and their abominable conduct in connexion with the suppression of the religious houses.

The king was on the eve of starting for the north to take the personal direction of affairs when the messengers arrived. He was politic enough to receive them graciously, and kept them by his side for a fortnight. By the end of that time he had brought them over to his own views, and sent them back with private letters to the leaders of the insurrection, expressive of his hope that they would return to their allegiance, and merit thereby the exercise of his clemency towards them. But there was an evident mistrust of the sincerity of Henry's smooth words and promises of clemency. The whole of the country north of the Humber was in a feverish and unsettled state. Hull was strongly garrisoned under Sir Robert Constable, and Aske took every possible care to keep the communications open between Hull and York, and between that city and the bishopric of Durham as far north as Newcastle. It was rumoured that Lord Darcy intended to advance upon Doncaster, and that Aske and Constable would cross over into Lincolnshire, and prevent Suffolk from reinforcing Lord Shrewsbury.

The king sent orders to the latter to maintain his position at Doncaster. Shrewsbury would have preferred falling back upon the Trent, but the king was determined that there should be no appearance of a retreat. Schemes were now on foot for the seizure, or for the murder, of Aske. A trusty messenger was despatched by the Duke of Norfolk to Lord Darcy, suggesting that he should deliver up Aske, living or dead, but if possible living. Darcy indignantly refused to stain his honour by acceding to so base a proposition. He sent a message to the king to the effect that if peace were desired it would be well that an answer to the insurgents' petition should be returned without delay. The result was that Ellerker and Bowes were sent back with some unmeaning expressions intended to pacify the insurgents for the time, and an assurance that the Duke of Norfolk, with other commissioners, should be the bearers of a final reply at the end of November.

The great body of the insurgents were now becoming weary of inaction, and much irritation began to prevail amongst them, which caused some uneasiness to their leaders. A council was held, at which the main question was whether or not to await the arrival of the king's commissioners, and to receive his final reply to their demands. It was at last resolved that the reassembling of the insurgent forces should go on in order to ensure security for their leaders when they met the commissioners. A parliament and convocation were summoned, which met at Pontefract. The meeting of the latter took place in Pontefract church, and was presided over by the

Archbishop of York, who, in his sermon, boldly expressed his conviction that the meeting was illegal, and that the rising was treasonable. His utterances were so distasteful to some of the men-at-arms who were present that he was dragged out of the pulpit by them, and narrowly escaped with his life. The clergy were unanimously opposed to the views of their diocesan, and drew up a manifesto condemning everything that had been done in the way of reformation, and a similar document was adopted with shouts of applause by the parliament assembled within the walls of the castle.

These resolutions were presented to the Duke of Norfolk and the other commissioners assembled at Doncaster by Lord Darcy and Aske. Norfolk was in a position of some difficulty. The king had yielded so far to the representations of his Privy Council as to concede a free pardon and a parliament at York. Further he would not go, and he had sent secret instructions to Lord Derby and the Duke of Suffolk to reinforce Shrewsbury with all speed. Indirectly, Norfolk seems to have allowed the insurgents to believe that the whole of their demands had been granted, and that the object of the Pilgrimage of Grace had been achieved.

But with regard to the demands for the restoration of the abbey lands and the replacing of the monks, Henry was absolutely and determinedly opposed. He was willing to give a favourable consideration to the social and economical reforms which their articles suggested, but not an inch would he recede from the vantage ground which he had gained for the reformation

of the Church. He promised also that a parliament should be held at York in the ensuing year, and that he would himself be present at it. A permanent council, moreover, was to sit at York, to adjudicate upon all questions relating to local claims or differences. All the chief leaders in the insurrection were invited to come up to London and "learn from the king himself the bearing of the measures against which they had clamoured, the motives which had led to their adoption, and the extent to which they would be further carried."¹

Lord Darcy and Sir Robert Constable evidently mistrusted Henry. The former refused to go to London on the score of ill-health; the latter assigned no satisfactory reason, but simply withdrew to the shelter of a fortress on the Yorkshire coast. Of the three chiefs, "Aske alone, the truest and the bravest, ventured to the king's presence," and gave him a plain, straightforward account of the feelings and expectations of the people, and of his own conduct throughout the rising. On his return into Yorkshire he found a profound distrust of the king's intentions prevailing among the people, and a feeling of grave uncertainty respecting the pardon which it had been represented to them the king was prepared to grant. The wave of disaffection which had overflowed the northern counties was not yet stilled, and the letter which Aske addressed to the king, detailing all the causes for uneasiness which still existed, concludes by an expression of his conviction that the danger was

¹ Froude's "Hist. of England," iii. p. 178.

not over, and that he greatly feared that things would even yet come to a bloody end.

The rebellion was, in fact, far from being extinguished. It was true that most of the leaders who went up to London had been persuaded to acquiesce in the king's proceedings. But a bitter feeling of exasperation at this existed amongst the clergy, which was shared by no inconsiderable number of the laity. Sporadic risings took place in the early months of 1537. Musters were made in Cleveland. Placards were posted on the church doors and other public places, and the people were led to believe that Norfolk, who was coming down as the first president of the Council of the North, was to be accompanied by an overwhelming force, and was armed with full power to execute all who were against the king from Doncaster northwards.

Matters were further complicated by the rash action of Sir Francis Bigod, of Mulgrave Castle, who, on his own responsibility, without consultation with Lord Darcy, Aske, or Constable, gathered a number of people together and made them an inflammatory harangue. His chief confederate was Hallam, who was a retainer of Sir Robert Constable, but a man of little note or importance. Sir George Lumley was led to join them. He made an ineffectual attempt to seize Scarborough. Hallam endeavoured to surprise Hull, but was taken prisoner. Bigod obtained possession of Beverley, but his proceedings were disclaimed and denounced by the three great leaders of the late insurrection; his followers lost heart and left him; and he also was captured by the king's troops.

This rash and ill-advised undertaking proved the ruin of the cause for which Darcy, Aske, and Constable had ventured so much. They did their best to maintain order amongst the people, but their very efforts in this direction were regarded by the clergy and the country people as evidences of treachery to the cause, and Aske in particular was fatally compromised by his generous but futile efforts to save Hallam from execution.

The Duke of Norfolk arrived at the head of a powerful army. He found disorder prevailing everywhere. Northumberland, Hexhamshire, Richmondshire, and Westmoreland were covered with bands of armed marauders. Carlisle was attacked, but the rebels were beaten back by Sir Thomas Clifford. Norfolk pushed his troops forward, a panic seized the insurgents, and they dispersed without risking a battle. Martial law was now proclaimed, and a messenger was sent to the king with information as to the state of affairs.

Henry's answer was ruthless enough. He was determined that, as Norfolk had evidently now got the country under control, there should be little risk of any future outbreak. It is obvious that the chief blame for stirring up the commotions which had now taken place, as well as for the first promotion of the insurrection, was laid to the charge of the members of the various monastic orders. A short shrift and a speedy gallows was to be their doom. "Forasmuch as all these troubles," said the king, "have ensued by the sollicitation and traitorous conspiracies of the monkes and chanons of those parties ; we desire and

pray you at your repaire to Salleye, Hexam, Newminster, Leonerdcoste, Sainet Agathe, and all suche other places as have made any maner of resistance, or in any wise conspired, or kept their houses with any force, sithens th' appointment at Dancastre, you shall, without pitie or circumstance, nowe that our baner is displayed, cause all the monkes and chanons, that be in any wise faultie, to be tyed uppe, without further delaye or ceremony, to the terrible exemple of others."¹ His directions were carried out. Trafford, the Abbot of Sawley, was hanged at Lancaster on the 10th March, 1536-7. The Prior of Hexham suffered likewise. Seventy-four individuals, clerical and lay, suffered in Cumberland and Westmoreland. Hallam and others were executed at Hull. Sir Francis Bigod and Sir George Lumley, with others, were sent to be tried in London.

It is needless to say that the Pilgrimage of Grace was a movement the progress of which was watched with intense anxiety at Rome. Its commencement synchronised with Reginald Pole's appointment as cardinal. He subsequently had a legate's commission given him by the pope, and it was left to his own discretion whether to go to England or to give such counsel and help as he could to the insurgent leaders from the safer position of a foreign shore.

Pole maintained correspondence with England. Whether Aske and his fellow-leaders in the insurrection were amongst those from whom he received despatches appears uncertain, but we find that suspicion, of one kind or another, so far rested upon

¹ Lemon's "State Papers," i. p. 537.

them as to lead to their arrest, which took place in April, 1537. They were committed to the Tower. The position they had occupied led naturally to their every action being watched with a jealous eye, and there was much to cause suspicion. They had taken no part in promoting the peace of the country. They were aware that outbreaks were in preparation in Cleveland and elsewhere, but they reported nothing respecting them to the Government. It was known that Aske had interfered at Hull to prevent the execution of Hallam, and it was also known that Constable would render no assistance in suppressing Bigod's rash and ill-advised outburst. Moreover,—and this was perhaps the most damning fact of all—it was known that, during the first insurrection, Lord Darcy and Aske had possessed themselves of artillery belonging to the king, and that it was still in their hands.

Sir John Bulmer and his wife (who was a natural daughter of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham), who had been engaged in some plot in Cleveland, were also arrested and taken to London about the same time, as were also Sir Thomas Percy, Bigod, Thirsk, Abbot of Fountains, the Abbot of Jervaulx, and several others. They were tried on the 16th May, and condemned to die. Lord Darcy suffered on Tower Hill on 30th June, 1537. The two abbots and the other gentlemen just mentioned were hanged at Tyburn, and Lady Bulmer was burnt in Smithfield. In the month of July, Aske and Constable were sent into Yorkshire, and delivered into the hands of the Duke of Norfolk. Constable was hanged in chains

at Hull. Aske was drawn through the streets of York on a hurdle, and suffered at the usual place of execution without the walls of that city.¹

Aske was undoubtedly the best and ablest of those who took the lead in the bold but fruitless enterprise which sought to replace the monks and nuns in the houses from which they had been expelled. It was a rebellion, unquestionably, against the chief authority in the realm, yet one cannot altogether refuse to sympathize with the feeling which dictated their opposition to what seemed to them an arbitrary exercise of royal power. They had lived all their lives in the neighbourhood of religious houses, whose inmates they had been taught from their earliest years to respect, if not to venerate. They knew the kindly charities which were dispensed by monastic hands. Many of them had received their education within monastic walls. Their fathers, in many cases, had endowed those houses, and most of them must have had kinsmen in the monasteries, and sisters or female relatives in the convents of the nuns. They resented, therefore, with most bitter feeling the forcible ejection of monk and nun from their quiet and holy homes. They recognised only the good which they knew to exist, they refused to listen to the informer's story of discreditable conduct or corruption of morals. But their gallant efforts availed not, and the Pilgrimage of Grace was made in vain.

¹ It will easily be recognised that the foregoing sketch of the rise, progress, and termination of the Pilgrimage of Grace is largely indebted to the admirable summary of the incidents connected with it contained in Mr. Froude's "History," vol. iii.

CHAPTER XIX.

THERE can be little doubt that the prominent part taken by many of the heads of religious houses, and by the monks and clergy in the Pilgrimage of Grace did much to hasten the completion of Cromwell's scheme for their general suppression. In the same month which witnessed the execution of Aske, we find Dr. Layton writing to the great minister soliciting the appointment of himself and Dr. Legh as visitors of the great monasteries which were left untouched by the dissolution of 1536. The letter is dexterously enough worded. He flatters Cromwell by an expression of his conviction that "the kynge's hyghnes hath put his onely truste in him for the reformation of his clergie," and he goes on to vaunt the fitness of Dr. Legh and himself for the work which was required:—there was not a monastery, cell, priory, or any other religious house in the north, with which they were unacquainted. They knew the country well, and that characteristic of its inhabitants which he designates as "the rudenes of the pepull;" in other words, the sturdy independence which, after the lapse of three centuries, still honourably distinguishes the people of the north, and of Yorkshire in particular. He tells him, moreover, that they had friends and kinsfolk in different parts of the country

who would readily assist them in case of "any stoborne and sturdy carle" being found troublesome and refractory. The two worthies duly received their commission from Cromwell and commenced their visitation, which was continued through the year 1538. From the beginning to the end they were two of the most active agents who were employed in the work.

It went on rapidly. The Abbey of Jervaulx was forfeited to the Crown by the attainder of its abbot, who, as has been already mentioned, suffered on the gibbet at Tyburn. Before a month was over, Sir Arthur Darcy¹ wrote to Cromwell that he had been present with the lord lieutenant at the suppression of that great and famous house. He gives a graphic picture of the place. It had one of the fairest churches he had ever seen, standing in the midst of rich and beautiful meadows, with the waters of the Ure gliding by, and a "grett demayne" around, diversified, no doubt, with ancient timber and greenwood coverts of thorn and holly. He had an eye also to other advantages which the place presented. The monks, it seems, were famous for their breed of horses. There was a wide extent of common-land on the high ground singularly suitable for the summer's run of the brood mares and their foals. In winter they could have shelter in the woods on the low

¹ Sir Arthur was the second son of the Lord Darcy who took so prominent a part in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Father and son took different lines. Sir Arthur appears to have been sent down to the north to assist in pacifying the country after the rebellion was put an end to.

ground, where the grazing was unequalled ; and he expresses his conviction that the king's highness could find no place in England which would contribute so much to the improvement of the royal stud. From Jervaulx he went to Selby, in which he had a more personal interest, having received a grant of it from the king.

Jervaulx Abbey was speedily dismantled. In November of the same year, Richard Bellasys, who was apparently an assistant commissioner in conjunction with Layton and Legh, tells Cromwell that he had stripped all the lead from its roofs, and made it up for sale. The taking down of the buildings he thought had better be deferred until spring, and he wishes to have Cromwell's opinion as to where the bells were to be sold, whether in the country or in London.

On the 8th December the commissioners write from Selby that they had dissolved the houses of Hampole, St. Oswald's (Nostell), Pontefract, Fountains, St. Mary's-in-York, Nun Appleton, and Selby. But they were in some difficulty as to dealing with the shrines, their commission not giving them any special power respecting them. As far as they had gone they had seized upon their contents to the king's use, but they desire to have their commission enlarged in that particular, so as to meet any awkward resistance that might be offered. On the 15th of the same month they tell the vicar-general that they had quietly taken surrenders from, and dissolved the monasteries of Worksop, Monk Bretton, St. Andrew's at York, Byland, Rievaulx, Kirkham, and Ellerton, together

with the friars' houses at Tickhill, Doncaster, Pontefract, and the city of York; and that not a murmur had been heard. Nay, they were even "thanckefully receyvede," as within the next few days they intend more fully to certify him. The lead and bells at Bolton Abbey were, it seems, to be reserved, whether for the king's highness' benefit or for that of his vicar-general is not quite apparent.

Wherever it was practicable surrenders were taken from the heads of the religious houses. It was Cromwell's policy that the dissolution should wear the semblance of a voluntary act, so as to escape the odium which was sure to be incurred by a forcible expulsion. It was a policy which Cranmer evidently entered into. We find him requesting Cromwell to refrain for a time from the expulsion of the prior of the Carthusian house in the Isle of Axholme, telling him that through the influence of friends he hoped to procure his voluntary resignation.¹

The inmates of the different monasteries and nunneries were sent out into the world with pensions, the amounts of which were fixed apparently by the commissioners, and regulated, according to their instructions, in proportion to "the rates and revenues and possessions of the howses and the quality of the personnes." The maximum seems to have been £100 per annum. This, at least, was the payment to Marmaduke Bradley, the Abbot of Fountains—that great and rich foundation, the nett yearly income of which was certified in 1535 as amounting to

¹ "Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries," p. 173.

£998. 6s. 7d. The heads of houses of much less annual value received similar pensions. At Whitby, out of a revenue of £437; Selby, out of £729; Gisborough, out of £628; St. Leonard's Hospital, York, out of £362—the respective heads had £100 a year reserved to them. In some cases, where the estates of the monastery brought in less than £300, the pension assigned was £50. Lesser amounts were given in some cases. The Abbot of Coverham had only £24, but the income of the house was only £160. The Abbot of Kirkstall got less still—£16. 13s. 4d., out of a revenue of £329. Probably his absolute refusal to quit the place, and his determination to live in the gate-house rather than do so, had something to do with the slender annuity allotted to him.

Fountains Abbey may be regarded as a typical example of those great monastic foundations which were scattered, not very sparsely, over the whole of England. Their possessions were great, and their influence in their respective neighbourhoods was proportionate. The mitred Abbot of Fountains or of Selby ranked with the peers of the realm, and sat in the same House of Assembly with them at Westminster; and when he was at home within the walls of his monastery his state and retinue were princely, his hospitality unbounded. Some idea of the style in which a great abbot lived may be formed by a glance at the lists of the plate which fell into the king's hands at the Dissolution. Exclusive of the various articles used in the services of the Church,—chalices, patens, crosses, censers, images, and reliquaries,

some of them richly jewelled, which amounted, according to a valuation made not long before the suppression, to the sum of £519. 15s. 5d.,—the plate at Fountains in the abbot's custody, in the buttery and the frater-house, was valued at nearly £197. 11s. This comprised drinking-cups and goblets, spoons, dishes, and other articles used at table. The extent of domain which the monks of Fountains farmed was very large. The same record tells us the amount of their live stock, which numbered 2,016 horned cattle, 1,146 sheep, 86 horses, and 79 swine.¹

The landed estates of this monastery were very large. Besides the domain around the abbey, there were manors and granges scattered all over Yorkshire, which were let to tenants. Wide tracts of woodland, parts of which were ancient forest-ground, intermixed with copse wood, furnished timber. Nidderdale yielded lead ore, which was smelted and carried in boats down the river Ure to York, and from thence down the Ouse to Hull. The monks of Fountains had long enjoyed the privilege of a free passage on the rivers "Jore and Ouse," by virtue of a charter granted them by Edward, Earl of Cornwall, dated 13 Edward I.²

Henry VIII.'s original intention as to the disposal of the vast possessions which came into his hands by the suppression of the great monasteries was to devote them to purposes of general utility, religious, educational, and eleemosynary. A paper is in existence which indicates what his ideas were, especially

¹ "Memorials of Fountains Abbey" (Pub. Surtees Soc.), i. p. 294.

² *Ibid.*, p. 402.

as regarded the foundation of new bishoprics.¹ The paper is corrected by the king's own hand, and is accompanied by a list, altogether in his handwriting, of thirteen new sees which he contemplated.

One of these was to be endowed out of the possessions of Fountains Abbey and the revenues of the archdeaconry of Richmond. Its bishop was to have jurisdiction over that archdeaconry and the county of Lancaster. The scheme must have been pretty well matured, for a specific detail of the intended foundation may be seen amongst the Augmentation Office Papers. Another paper, respecting the erection of certain new bishoprics,² mentions his intention of founding a see for "Gysborowe cum Beverley." Six only, as we know, were actually erected; Chester (to which was assigned the district intended for Fountains), Gloucester, Bristol, Oxford, Peterborough, and Westminster.

The scheme for the redistribution of the revenues of Fountains is very precise, with the sole exception of the amount of income to be assigned to the bishop, which is left blank. But he was probably intended to have an annual income of £333. 6s. 8d., as was proposed for the sees of Chester, Colchester, Dunstable, Shrewsbury, Bodmin, and Southwell.

The Dean was to have £100 a year. Six prebendaries had each £20 per annum, and six petty canons each £10, the one who acted as sacristan having

¹ Cotton MSS. Cleop. E. iv. f. 305. See "Letters Relating to the Suppression," &c., pp. 262, 263.

² "Chapter House Records," vol. cclxiii. p. 43. Cf. "Memorials of Fountains," &c., pp. 304, 305.

£2 more. An epistoler and gospeller had each £6. 13s. 4d. An annual stipend of the same amount was given to each of the six singing men, and £3. 6s. 8d. to each of the children of the choir, with a salary of £10 a year to their master. A school-master "to tech gramer" was to be attached to the foundation with a stipend of £20. Provision was made for servants' wages and for four almsmen belonging to the church. The sum of £20 was to be distributed yearly amongst poor householders, and a like sum to be expended in the making of highways.¹

But the better instincts which prompted the king to appropriate the possessions of Fountains to an object so much in accordance with a religious foundation were overmastered by the love of money and the exigencies of the royal exchequer. A purchaser offered himself in the person of a London merchant, Sir Richard Gresham, and he received a grant of the site of the monastery, the domain adjoining, and a considerable portion of the estates, bringing in altogether a rental of £350 per annum, for which he was to pay at the rate of twenty years' purchase, viz., £7,000. The particulars are given in a letter from Sir Richard to Cromwell.² The grant was made, and the scheme for the bishopric was heard of no more.

The year 1538, which witnessed the suppression or surrender of most of the greater monasteries, is the same which dates the issue of an injunction by the vicar-general for the keeping of registers in all parish

¹ Cf. "Memorials of Fountains Abbey," pp. 304, 305.

² *Ibid.*, p. 306.

churches for the entry of every wedding, christening, and burial which took place within such parishes. Records had been heretofore kept in the religious houses under different names—Leiger-book, Necrology or Obituary, Chronicle, &c.—in which the deaths of eminent persons were entered, the names of persons buried within the precincts of such houses, and sometimes of those who were married there. Entries of this sort were sometimes made in the missals and psalters used in parish churches. But all these were casual entries only, without any system or order, and those made by the monks were, of course, at an end. It is not altogether improbable that Cromwell in his earlier days may have become acquainted with the fact of parochial registers being kept in some countries on the Continent. The great Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, ordered in 1497 that a register should be kept in every parish. In France there appear to have been registers as early as 1308, but whether the practice was universal is uncertain.¹ Possibly they may have been kept in Italy also. The injunctions seem to have met with but partial obedience. In the diocese of York there are twenty-four parishes only whose registers date from the year when Cromwell's order was issued, and seven in the year following. Many, no doubt, may have perished from one cause or another, but so far as an inference may be drawn from the books which have survived the *incuria* which has been fatal in so many cases, it might seem that register-books were

¹ Cf. Burn's "Hist. of Parish Registers in England," p. 3.

not kept in the different parishes of the diocese with any degree of regularity until the reign of Elizabeth. A very large proportion only date, indeed, from the middle of the 17th century.¹

The fall of the greater monasteries appears to have been accepted with a sort of apathetic resignation on the part of the people generally. No movement followed in the north as after the dissolution of the smaller houses. The way in which the king dealt with those who took a prominent part in the Pilgrimage of Grace was too recent to be forgotten. This completion of the scheme devised by Cromwell for the extinction of monasticism was carried out, therefore, without any overt act of opposition. That there was a deep undercurrent of regret at the disappearance of the communities of good and charitable religious, of both sexes, from their midst, and of utter repugnance to the ruthless manner in which it was carried out, cannot be doubted. Even some of the most prominent of the men of the New Learning, Latimer amongst others, pleaded earnestly for the preservation of some of the religious houses, as centres of kindly hospitality and loving charity, and places where the young might be safely placed for education and training. But such appeals were in vain. It is quite clear that the king and his astute minister were bent especially upon one line of policy, viz., to establish a complete independence of the Pope of Rome. The destruction of the monasteries was essential to this scheme. The exemptions from episcopal control

¹ Cf. Lawton's "*Collectio rerum Ecclesiasticarum in Dioecesi Eboracensi*," &c. London, 1842.

which from time to time they had received, rendered them in point of fact subject to no earthly authority save the pope alone. The continuation of their existence, therefore, would have imperilled Henry's project in no small degree, and it went on to its completion.

Another reason for the acquiescence of the country at large was, no doubt, the breaking up and redistribution of the monastic property which took place. All fell, in the first instance, into the hands of the Crown. Much was retained by the king, especially the amount of the plunder of shrines and altars, and the plate which garnished the cupboards and dining-tables of the great abbots and priors. Large sums were realised also by the sale of the lead which covered the roofs of the churches and monastic buildings, and of the bells which hung in the towers of the former, and all went to swell the hoard which was accumulating in the royal treasury. The vast landed property of the different religious houses fell, in like manner, into the king's hands. Some of the estates were retained by the Crown, many were granted to those who were high in royal favour, and many were sold, as was the case with a large portion of the land belonging to Fountains, to successful merchants, who wished for an investment for the wealth they had accumulated. Many of the richer yeomen also bought portions, larger or smaller, as suited their means, of the abbey lands. In this way a new order of gentry sprung into existence, and in Yorkshire, as in other parts of England, families now of high standing and connexions in

their respective counties owe the commencement of their importance to the progenitor who made a successful speculation in the land of some monastic house.

Henry has often been abused in no measured terms for the prodigality with which he made grants of abbey lands to his favourites, and for the cupidity which led him to traffic, as he did, in the sale of vast portions of them. It is true enough that he did so; but although it does not in the least extenuate his personal lust of wealth, his unjust appropriation of possessions given for far other purposes, and his profusely extravagant misuse of his ill-gotten gains, the distribution which it ultimately involved of the wealth which came into his hands was far from being an un-mixed evil. As Mr. Surtees well says, "had their vast revenues remained vested in the crown, the sovereign would, at this day, have been independent of Parliament, whose control over the monied revenue of the crown forms, if properly exercised, one of the surest bulwarks of British liberty."¹

If the suppression of the monasteries had been the outcome of a religious spirit on the part of those by whom it was organised, one result might surely have been looked for, viz., the application of some portion of their great revenues to religious uses. It might have been thought that a suitable provision would have been made for the small chapels, which had been erected from time to time, in the remote corners of wide and scattered parishes, to supply the spiritual

¹ "History of Durham" (General Hist.), vol. i. p. lxxix. "

needs of those who lived far away from their parish church. Competent provision might have been made also for increasing the income of incumbents in those large and populous parishes, whose tithes had become the property of monastic bodies. But no attempt was made, no suggestion apparently offered in this direction. The tithes got into lay hands, and the Church of England to this very day feels the loss, and has reason to deplore the omission. The little subsidiary chapels soon fell into decay. In more than one corner of this great diocese, their ruined walls yet remain. In others they have passed out of existence, leaving but a name, such as "Chapel garth," to identify the spot where their walls were reared by the piety of a bygone age. It is true that a few new bishoprics were subsequently founded, and where these were established a dean and chapter took the place of a prior and his monks, but that was all.

The proceedings of Henry and his vicar-general with respect to the dissolution of monastic foundations did not pass unobserved abroad. The bull of excommunication which Pope Paul III. had issued against the king, was now ratified and put in force. In the same year (1538) three divines came over from Germany, to see if a common formula of faith could not be framed. Some overtures of a similar kind had previously been made (in 1534), which for political reasons were not altogether discouraged by the king, and it was probably thought by the German reformers that a more favourable time had now arrived for coming to a cordial co-operation. Several

conferences took place. The Germans made the Augsburg Confession their basis. It is divided into two parts—confession of faith and condemnation of what they deemed abuses. As to articles of faith, there seemed some possibility of agreement. When they came to discuss the abuses, it was clear that no unity of action was likely to result. Communion in one kind only, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy, were strenuously opposed by the German divines. Henry was as strenuous in maintaining them. Cranmer's views were much in accordance with those which were advocated by the foreigners, but he was powerfully opposed by Gardiner and Tunstall. The king wrote an answer, with the assistance of the latter, to the German envoys, clearly showing that as regarded both ritual and dogma, his sympathies were with the "Old Religion," not with the "New," and the negotiations came to an end.

This was probably the most adverse circumstance which occurred in this reign, as regarded the progress of the Reformation. It was a decided triumph for the men of the Old Learning, and it soon culminated in the passing of a cruel and barbarous statute, called the "Six Articles," enacted "for the abolishing of diversity of opinions." They assert (1) that after consecration no bread and wine remain in the Eucharist; (2) that communion in both kinds was not necessary; (3) that no priest be allowed to marry; (4) that vows of chastity are binding by God's law; (5) that private masses are necessary; and (6) that auricular confession is both expedient and obligatory.

Preaching or disputing against these Articles was made felony.

The revival of persecution followed. A noted case occurred in the person of Lambert, a sacramentary, the term applied to one who denied a corporal presence in the Holy Eucharist. The wave of persecution extended to the diocese of York. Valentine Frees, a son of Frederick Frees, the first printer who settled in York, was one of its victims. Valentine "was admitted to the freedom of the city of York by patrimony in the year 1539." Opposite to his name in the margin of the city register is written the following note: "Combustus erat apud Knavesmire, propter heresem." Fuller, in his account of the Worthies of York, speaks of Valentine Frees and his wife as martyrs. "They were both of them," he says, "born in the city, and both gave their lives therein at one stake for the testimony of Jesus Christ, probably by order from Edward Lee, the cruel archbishop. I cannot readily call to mind a man and his wife thus married together in martyrdom, and begin to grow confident that this couple was the first and last in this kind." Foxe, in his "Acts and Monuments," gives a frightful description of the cruelties inflicted upon Edward Frees, the brother of Valentine, "who," he says, "had been apprenticed at York to be a printer, and was afterwards a novice monk."¹

The whip with six strings, as this statute was called, was wielded at first with a sanguinary hand, but ere long the severity of its working was practically

¹ Davies' "Memoir of the York Press," p. 8.

much modified, owing, probably, to the influence of Cranmer. But it continued in force until the end of Henry's reign. Cranmer's pliancy, and the personal regard which the king entertained for him, saved him from suffering under its lash, though his sympathies were all along with the reforming party. Bishops Latimer and Shaxton, who were not so time-serving, and far more honest and outspoken, were imprisoned.

The work that was done in Henry's reign as regarded the reformation of the Church may be briefly summed up under three general heads:—(1) the effort that was made by Cranmer to procure recognition for the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular; (2) the publication of certain manuals of doctrine; and (3) of the primers, or manuals of devotion. It was in the year 1534 that Cranmer induced the convocation of the southern province to join in a request to the king that an English version of the Bible might be authorised for general distribution. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was divided by the archbishop into several parts, which were distributed amongst the bishops for correction. This was favourably received by most of them, of whom Gardiner was one. But Stokesley, Bishop of London, entered a strong protest against the project, on the ground that the reading of the Scriptures "doth nothing else but infect the laity with heresy," and Cranmer's design at that time fell to the ground. In the following year the whole Bible was privately printed by Coverdale, and in 1536 the convocation again appealed to Henry on the subject. In 1537

Cranmer presented to the monarch an English Bible "of a new translation and a new print," usually called Matthew's Bible, the use of which was allowed. Two years subsequently the same version, carefully revised, with an able preface by Cranmer himself, and commonly known as "Cranmer's," or "The Great Bible," was fully sanctioned by the king, and permitted to be set up in the churches.¹

Two manuals of doctrine were issued by authority, one in 1537, called "The Institution of a Christian Man."² This was superseded in 1543 by a second, entitled "The Necessary Doctrine." The first was the most favourable to the views of those who had reforming tendencies, the second more in accord with the Old Learning. In plan it was the same as the "Institution."

These were formularies of doctrine. Books of devotion were also published in the vernacular, under the name of primers. The first was printed in 1535, and was of a reforming tendency. It was suppressed by authority. Another, called Hilsey's Primer,³ was published in 1539, at the instigation of Cromwell, which was more favourable to the Old Learning. This, however, was superseded by the famous one which came out in 1545, under the

¹ Cf. Hardwick's "Reformation," pp. 181, 182.

² A copy of this is in the Bodleian, with alterations in Henry VIII.'s own hand, together with Cranmer's notes upon these alterations.

³ Hilsey, or Hildesley, succeeded Fisher as Bishop of Rochester in 1535. He lived till 1538, and was succeeded by Nicholas Heath, who subsequently became Archbishop of York.

distinct authority of the king. It is a proof of the reviving influence of the reforming party. The principle is avowed in the preface of the book that it is lawful for people to pray in their own language. The Litany in English was incorporated with it, and the king's directions were that no other manual of prayer was to be used throughout all his dominions.

The issue of these manuals seems to be regarded by many writers as a sort of preparation for the public offices of the Church being conducted in the mother tongue. This may no doubt be true to some extent. There was an evident desire for uniformity of usage. In 1541 the Southern Convocation decided that the Use of Sarum was to be observed throughout the province of Canterbury, and in the following year the king ordered an examination and revisal of all mass-books, antiphoners, and breviaries. Superstitious collects and versicles were to be expunged, and their place supplied by services "made out of the scriptures and authentic doctors." Portions of Holy Scripture in English were likewise ordered to be read. It would seem, indeed, that new service books were actually prepared before the end of Henry's reign.

It is, perhaps, worth noting that in the account roll of Thomas Merse, Canon Residentiary of York, for the year 1543-4, there is an item for the purchase of "thre processioners in Englishe."¹

But as regarded private manuals of devotion in English, they were familiarly known and used under

¹ "Fabric Rolls of York Minster," p. 111.

the name of Primer, long before the Reformation period. The word was in common use certainly before the middle of the 14th century. It was used by Piers Ploughman, and it occurs perpetually in the bequests given in wills of the northern counties. From the very earliest times there is indeed abundant evidence that the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were taught to the people in their own tongue. And when they assembled for worship in their churches on Sundays and Holy days, they had instruction given them as to the proper objects of prayer, in what was called the Bidding of bedes, or Bidding-prayer, in which they were taught to remember before God their spiritual pastors, their fellow parishioners, their kinsfolk and friends, to beg a blessing on the labours of the husbandman, that God would send fair weather, and avert the stormy wind and tempest; they were to pray also for those in debt or deadly sin, that God would turn their hearts, and for those who were godly that he would "give them good perseverance in their goodness," and that He would have mercy upon all departed souls.¹

¹ Cf. York Bidding-Prayers, given in "Lay-Folks' Mass-Book," pp. 62 *et seq.* It is worthy of note that in the York Bidding-Prayer, anterior to the Norman Conquest, the Lord's Prayer alone is prescribed at its conclusion. In 1405 a *Pater-noster* and an *Ave* are mentioned; whilst in 1445-50 five *Aves*, in one instance, are directed to be said without the Lord's Prayer.

CHAPTER XX.

THE year before Henry's Primer was issued witnessed a vacancy in the see of York, by the death of Archbishop Lee, who died in 1544. Nothing was done by him in the northern province to promote the spread of the Reformation within its borders. His sympathies were all with the Old Learning. He had indeed, like many other prelates, acceded to the king's wishes and issued his mandate to the Archdeacon of York *ad prædicandum abolitionem auctoritatis Romani pontificis*, and had declared the king's supremacy, but we do not find that he took any part in the efforts which were indirectly made under Cranmer's cautious guidance for the reformation of the Church's services. His episcopate was marked by the issue of new statutes under the Great Seal in 1541, with the authority of Parliament, for the rectification of certain abuses which had crept into the internal administration of the Minster by the Dean and canons. Whether the Archbishop took any part in procuring their issue does not appear. They are said to be due to the influence of Richard Layton, who was appointed in 1539 as successor to Dean Higden. They are addressed to the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter. The chief reason for the framing of new statutes seems to have arisen

from the prodigious expenses in which a canon was involved in his first year of residence. A succession of entertainments was expected from him, and banquets of the most costly character; and to such an extent had this abuse prevailed that no one could pretend to fill the office, unless he were prepared to expend one thousand marks in maintaining this profuse hospitality. The revenue attached to each separate prebendal stall was utterly inadequate to meet this outlay, and the consequence was that most of the canons abstained altogether from keeping residence. This left the government of the Church in the hands of one or two residentiaries only, and the non-residentiaries were gradually ousted from their proper share in its rule, and likewise as regarded the disposal of the livings in the patronage of the body. There were also other breaches of ancient statutes and usages. The new statutes provided that each canon was to protest his residence without any hindrance being thrown in his way by the fear of the expenditure it had heretofore involved; an abuse which was now abolished. Provisions were embodied as to certain details,—as to the number who were to be in residence at one time, the number to be present at the services, and the time residence was to last. The vicars choral were to receive a definite money payment from each canon who was in the greater residence, in lieu of being entertained by him at his table. The Chancellor of the church was to have the power of selecting preachers, but without prejudice to such customs as obtained with regard to the discharge of that function by any member of the

body. One thing was distinctly recognised, namely, that each canon, residentiary or non-residentiary, had an equal right to be called to the meetings of chapter, and to take part in the deliberations and acts thereof, as *fratres et membra ejusdem ecclesiæ*. No power was to be exclusively arrogated by the residentiaries.

The arrangement of the stalls in the chapter house bears its silent witness to the equality of the members of the capitular body. All are on the same level, all precisely alike. There is not even a raised seat or a loftier canopy for the Dean himself. He was simply *primus inter pares*.

Lee's episcopate was further marked by the alienation to the Crown in 1542 of the manors of Beverley, Southwell, Skidby, and Bishop Burton. This was done in exchange for lands which had belonged to certain dissolved priories. It was an exchange not altogether disadvantageous to the see of York, but the alienation of episcopal property was an evil precedent, which was carried out by his successor in a very unscrupulous manner. Archbishop Lee was buried in the minster.

He was succeeded by Robert Holgate, who was originally a Gilbertine monk of Sempringham, in Lincolnshire. He subsequently became one of the king's chaplains, was promoted to the see of Llandaff in 1537, and from thence translated to York in 1544. A somewhat remarkable ceremonial took place in Lambeth chapel when Holgate was made Archbishop. It consisted in his investment with the pallium by the hands of Cranmer. It was done in the presence of the Bishops of Westminster and

Chichester, and Mr. Anthony Huse, registrar. It is curious as showing the importance attached to investiture with the pallium, as conveying the plenitude of archiepiscopal power, and also as showing the position which Henry intended the Primate of All England to occupy after his final rupture with Rome. Hitherto the pallium had been given by the Apostolic See, a most solemn promise of obedience to the Pope being previously made by the Archbishop elect. The Archbishop of Canterbury was now, it seems clear, to act as *alterius orbis apostolicus et patriarcha*. A special service took place on the occasion. After certain versicles and collects the pallium was asperged with holy water and blessed by the primate. The *traditio pallii* commenced as follows:—*Ad honorem Dei Patris Omnipotentis, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Intemeratæque Virginis Mariæ et totius cælestis exercitus, ac illustrissimi et serenissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Henrici VIII., &c., cui soli et nulli alii obedientiam et fidelitatem debes, &c.*

Henry, nevertheless, was only reverting to the original practice. The pall in its origin was not a sacerdotal but an imperial robe. It was first bestowed by the emperors only, afterwards by the popes with their permission. Its use as a sign of metropolitan dignity was much later than the original custom of bestowing it as a distinction of honour or compliment.¹

¹ See "Gent. Mag." (Nov. 1860), vol. lxiv. p. 522. The particulars of the ceremonial taken from Cranmer's Register were communicated to that publication by Professor Stubbs. The oath taken by Holgate is printed in Wilkins' "Concilia."

When Henry appointed Holgate to the archbishopric he was probably well assured of his complaisance, for within a month after he took possession of the see of York he alienated to the king thirteen manors in Northumberland, forty in Yorkshire, six in Nottinghamshire, and eight in Gloucestershire, receiving in exchange a grant of thirty-three impropriations and advowsons which had come into the hands of the Crown at the dissolution of the monasteries.¹ The see was impoverished by Holgate's acts, but a very considerable increase of his own private property was the result. A large portion of his wealth was subsequently applied, nevertheless, to the endowment of educational and eleemosynary foundations in the diocese over which he presided.

In 1545 an act was passed for the suppression of collegiate foundations, hospitals, chantries, and guilds. But its provisions were not carried out to any great extent until the following reign. In the year in which it was passed we find Marmaduke Bradley (Abbot of Fountains at the time of its dissolution) giving up the whole of the dividend (except ten marks) which he received as canon residentiary of Ripon, for two years, in order to help forward the restoration or rebuilding of the great centre tower of the minster of that town. He is described as sole residentiary and president of the chapter. Presentations continued to be made to chantries and prebendal stalls. We find a chaplain instituted to one of the Ripon chant-

Professor Stubbs gives a reference to *De Marcâ*, lib. vi. c. 7, as to the origin and use of the pall.

¹ Cf. Drake's; "Hist. of York," p. 452.

ries in 1546, and in the same year Archbishop Holgate granted to Sir Ralph Sadler¹ the next presentation to the prebendal stall of Stanwick in the church of Ripon—an arrangement which was ratified by act of chapter under the presidency of Marmaduke Bradley. Henry VIII., as we may also infer, did not contemplate the suppression of the collegiate church of Ripon. In the same year in which the act was passed for the dissolution of chantries, collegiate institutions, &c., he made a grant to the Archbishop of York for the time being of the patronage of the hospitals of St. Mary Magdalene and St. John Baptist at Ripon, and of all the prebendal stalls in its minster, together with full power to visit and reform abuses. It would also seem that the monarch intended the president of the chapter to have the title of dean, the body of canons or prebendaries having the designation of "Dean and Chapter" given to them in this grant.²

Excepting as is hereinbefore mentioned, no progress was made with regard to the reformation of the public offices of the Church. Henry clung to the last to the ancient ritual, and, as is well known, his will bears testimony to this fact. But the men of the New Learning were biding their time, and it was not long in coming. Henry died on the 28th January, 1547, and Edward VI. was not long on the throne before

¹ See "Ripon Chapter Acts" (App.), p. 351-4 [Pub. Surtees Soc.] Sir Ralph Sadler's name is well known in connexion with his "State Papers," published in 1809, with a Memoir by Sir Walter Scott.

² Cf. Drake (App.), p. xciv.

the stately accents of the old Roman tongue ceased to echo within the walls of the lofty minster and the lowlier fabrics of the parochial churches.

Before proceeding to enter upon any account of this great change, a few words may fitly be recorded here respecting what is known as "The Use of York."

In England, as in France and other countries of Europe, there were diversities of ritual prevailing in different dioceses, both as regarded the missals, the breviaries, the manuals used by the parish priests in the celebration of the occasional offices of the Church, the pontificals, or books containing exclusively episcopal offices, and the processions. To these may be added antiphoners, psalters, and hymnals. In England the Use of Sarum prevailed generally in the southern province. In addition to this there were Uses peculiar to the dioceses of York, Lincoln, Hereford, Bangor, and others. There can be no doubt that in early times the bishop of a diocese exercised his own discretion with regard to the arrangement of the services used in the churches within its limits, the festivals of saints admitted into their calendars, the musical notation of their hymns, the colours of the vestments of their priests and those of the hangings of the altars at which they served. In all these matters there were considerable variations at different periods, even in the same diocese. The rubrics, indeed, scarcely appear to have become fixed until printed editions took the place of manuscript copies. But notwithstanding all these variations there was a real and substantial agreement. With regard to the

York Use, Canon Simmons expresses his conviction that it was "in the main the ancient Gregorian Mass, according to the Roman rite of the eighth century ; or rather that it was the use *secundum ritum sacri palatii*, which, with most absolute self-confidence, was enforced by a high-handed exercise of royal supremacy in the dominion of Charles the Great ; and further, that it was very probably introduced at York by Archbishop Eanbald II. at the instance of his old master, Alcuin."¹ Archdeacon Freeman² considers that the Liturgical office introduced into this country by St. Augustine was not the Roman, but a sister rite, formed in the south of France, by the joint action probably of St. Leo and Cassian, about two hundred years before (420), having a common basis, indeed, with the Roman office, but strongly tinged with Gallican characteristics, derived long ago from the East ; and probably enriched also, at the time, by fresh importations of Oriental usages. He says that its Gallican origin is incontestably proved by the English diocesan Uses, the contents of which are frequently utterly different from the Roman ; whilst they correspond in very many particulars with usages preserved in various French and Spanish churches. It is important to bear in mind, as bearing upon this subject, the record Bede gives of the question Augustine, after his return to Rome, submitted to Gregory the Great with reference to the diversities existing between the Gallican and the

¹ "Lay Folks' Mass-Book" (Pub. Early Engl. Text Soc.), p. 352.

² "Principles of Divine Service," ii. p. 404.

Roman liturgies. The answer given by the pope allowed him liberty of action :—*Ex singulis quibusque Ecclesiis quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt, elige ; et hæc, quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.*¹ No iron rule of rigid uniformity was imposed by the great and wise pontiff who then sat in the chair of Peter, yet in the texture of each liturgy there was a golden thread of unity discernible which vindicated its claim to having been woven in the same loom, however diverse the hues of other portions of its fabric. The part called the *Canon Missæ*, the most sacred part of the whole action, containing as it does the consecration of the elements and the form of the reception of the Holy Eucharist, is common to all the Uses, with some few variations. When the country came under the government of one head, greater uniformity in liturgical practice insensibly followed. To this the Use of Sarum largely contributed. A form was drawn up and promulgated about the year 1085, by Bishop Osmund of Salisbury, for use throughout his diocese. His great reputation for sanctity of life and theological learning led eventually to its adoption far beyond the narrow limits of the diocese for whose benefit it was originally framed. But although the Sarum Use became thus extensively adopted, the other diocesan Uses, more especially those of York and Hereford, held their ground with more or less tenacity down to the time of the Reformation. In the diocese of York occasional instances occur of the introduction of the

¹ "Hist. Eccl.," i., c. xxvii., § 60.

Sarum rite. In one or two cases it met with something like animadversion. The church of Layerthorpe, a suburb of York, was returned as possessing a missal, but it is stated at the same time *non est de usu Ebor.* In the Minster itself the altar of St. John of Beverley was reported as being duly furnished with its missal, *sed est insufficiens, quia non de usu.* Many legacies occur, however, of Sarum rituals of one sort or other, bequeathed to different churches. *Unum Missale de usu Sarum* is left to the high altar of the church of Easington, and a similar bequest, together with a processional, a manual, and a gradale, each of like use, is made to the parish church of Gedling in Nottinghamshire, which then formed part of the diocese. Archbishop Rotherham seems to have regarded the Use as a matter of indifference. He gave two missals to his college at Rotherham—one of York, the other of Sarum Use.

It would obviously occupy too much space in a work like the present to enter into a detailed examination of the diversities of the York Use, some of them minute and of no great significance. It may be sufficient to point out some of its peculiarities which have been thought worthy of notice by Archdeacon Freeman. The Sarum Use begins with the hymn, *Veni Creator.* The York ritual defers it till the oblation. The word *officium* is used for introit. The elements were brought in after the introit, being received by the acolyte and placed by him upon the altar, when the corporal was spread; differing widely from the Roman Use, which directs the celebrant himself to place all on the altar at the very first, the

corporal not being spread until after the creed : but the English Uses agree in this with the French and Spanish, where the elements are prepared and set on before the *Gloria in excelsis*. "As we approach the oblation and consecration," says Archdeacon Freeman, "the differences become more striking and interesting. In the Roman Use the 'Bread and Cup' are offered separately, but in the English, as in the East, and as in the French, the Irish, and the monastic Uses, simultaneously. . . . A beautiful custom obtained in the York Use of the choir saying to the celebrant, at this juncture, 'The Lord hear thee,' &c., 'remember thy offering, and accept thy burnt sacrifice': the other Uses and the Roman having a similar prayer at the *Tersanctus*, and at the words, 'Accept these gifts.'"¹ When the priest comes to the consecration of the elements, the Use of York, in common with the other English Uses, enjoins that the bread and wine should be "lifted up," in the manner of one offering a sacrifice, at the words, "He took bread and gave thanks," &c. This appears to recognise that the Act of consecration consists "in the imitation of our Lord's action and words, such as we gather them from Scripture, from tradition, or from analogy,"—not in the mere repetition of words only. The rubric of the Roman Use expressly says, "He uttereth the words of consecration, *Hoc est enim Corpus Meum*." One only amongst the Uses of this country, that of Bangor, as given by Maskell, has a rubrical note to the like effect,—*Hæc sunt verba consecrationis*.

¹ "Principles of Divine Service," ii. p. 419.

But the most remarkable divergence of the English Uses from that of Rome consists in the absence of any rubrical direction for the adoration of the elements after consecration. In the Roman Use the words are express:—*Prolatis verbis consecrationis, statim Hostiam consecratam genuflexus adorat.* All that is said in the English Uses is that the sacrament is to be lifted up, so as to be seen by the people. Even this direction is altogether absent from more than one copy of the York Use. It is an omission which undoubtedly bears testimony to the antiquity of the ritual of the diocese; “no mention of the elevation being made by the early ritualists, Alcuin or Amalarius, or Micrologus; nor is there any allusion to it in the old *Ordines Romani*, or the sacramentaries of Gelasius or Gregory. It is commonly said that the first order upon the matter, and introduction of its observance, was based upon the famous decree of the Council of Lateran (about transubstantiation), under Innocent III.”¹ A rubric respecting elevation occurs indeed in one copy of the York Use, of the 15th century, which belongs to the library of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge,² It is a MS. which obviously belonged originally to the Minster of York, and is remarkable for the fulness of its rubrics, which is not a general characteristic of the other existing copies, for they are distinguished rather by the brevity and paucity of their rubrical directions. It corresponds more with the Use of Sarum than any of the other manuscript or printed

¹ Maskell, “Antient Liturgy,” &c., p. 92.

² See “Missals, &c., Ebor.” (Pub. Surtees Soc.), vol. i. p. 186. Cf. also the Preface, p. x.

copies. Some of the rubrics in this MS. are interesting. One, *e.g.*, refers to the attendance of the city clergy at the minster on St. John the Evangelist's day ; another to the boy-bishop's service on Innocents' day.¹

The words directed in the York Use to be said by the priest at his reception of the Holy Sacrament must not be left unnoticed. They are *Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri, &c., custodiat corpus meum et animam meam, &c.* The mention of "body and soul" is peculiar to the York Use, and the expression has been retained in our English Liturgy. It is found also in the ancient *Missa*, published by Flaccus Illyricus. See Bona, p. 385, App. (ed. Antwerp, 1739). It occurs likewise in the Mozarabic Rite.

Of the Manual according to the Use of York there seem to have been but two editions printed ; one by Wynkyn de Worde, London, 1509 ; and one by Gachet, at York, without date, but probably later than 1516, as there is no evidence of that printer having settled at York before that year. Five copies of Wynkyn de Worde's edition are known : of that printed by Gachet an unique copy is preserved in Archbishop Marsh's library, Dublin. There are also four manuscript copies in existence. One of these is in the Minster library at York. Some curious notes are written on its outside leaves. One is of interest to the philologist, for it contains an example of the use of a peculiar term for the publication of banns of marriage, which is not yet extinct in Yorkshire. The

¹ This was a very popular service. The minster of York had a little mitre and a cope of tissue, *pro episcopo puerorum*, and nine miniature copes were provided for the children who ministered in his train.

people in the rural districts still speak of it as putting in the "spirrings."¹ The MS. note referred to contains a form of address by the priest before commencing the marriage service, which uses this very word:—"Frendys, it is noght unknown unto yow . . . that N. and N. . . has bene 'spirred' thre solemne dayes in y^e kirke, no lettyng ne none ympedymment fond," &c.

The destruction of the York service-books, of whatever kind, has been all but complete. The accomplishment of this was unquestionably due to the determined Protestantism of Archbishop Grindal, as we shall hereafter see.

The Breviary, or Portiforium, as it was more generally called in this country, was, it is almost needless to say, the book containing the offices of devotion which were recited at the canonical hours by the secular clergy, as well as by the members of monastic houses. These offices consisted of prayers, psalms, hymns and canticles, and lessons taken from Holy Scripture or the writings of the fathers of the Church. The canonical hours were seven in number, Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline. Their use goes back to remote antiquity. Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers gave to each its own peculiar name (one of which still survives on the pages of our prayer-book), Uhtsang, Primesang, Undersang, Middaysang, Noonsang, Evensang, and Nightsang. From the earliest times of which we have

¹ Derived from *speer*, *speir*, if not directly from Old Norse *spyrja*, Suio-Gothic, *Spörja*, to make inquiry, to ask for information. In "Prompt. Parvulorum" we have "Speryn or aske after a thing."—See Atkinson's "Cleveland Glossary."

any record the clergy were repeatedly admonished as to the duty of their solemn recitation. They are mentioned in the Excerpts of Archbishop Egbert, of York, in the pastoral epistle of Ælfric, and in the canons enacted by King Edgar. The laity also were strongly urged to be present.

Until the issuing of the successive bulls of Pius V., Clement VIII., and Urban VIII., which imposed the use of an amended edition in all churches under the Roman obedience,—with the exception of such breviaries as could adduce a prescription of 200 years,—the bishops of each diocese had power to alter or add to the services adopted in the churches under their episcopal rule.

York, amongst others, had its own breviary. In the general structure and sequence of its different parts it was similar to those which were in use alike in England and throughout the churches of Europe. The chief differences consisted in the commemoration of local saints, each with their peculiar lections, hymns, collects, and prayers. This applies equally to the missals.

The feasts peculiar to the York Use, as found in the calendar of the missal, were as follow :—*Festa Januarii*. Trans. S. Willelmi, in Dom. prox. post Epiph. Pauli, iv Id. Jan. Germanici, xiv Kal. Feb. Emerentianæ, x Kal. Feb. Babillæ, ix Kal. Feb. Polycarpi, vii Kal. Feb. *Februarii*. Gilberti, ii Non. Feb. *Martii*. Albin, Kal. Mar. *Aprilis*. Trans. Wilfridi, viii Kal. Maii. *Maii*. Bedæ, vii Kal. Jun. *Junii*. Petrocii, ii Non. Jun. Willelmi, vi Id. Jun. Willelmi Oct. xvii Kal. Jun. *Julii*. Everildis, vii Id. Jun. Marthæ, vi Kal. Aug. *Augusti*. S. Petri, Oct. vi Id.

Aug. Hildæ, viii Kal. Sept. Aidani, ii Kal. Sept. *Septembris*. Evurtii, vii Id. Sept. Adriani, vi Id. Sept. Mauriti, Id. Sept. *Octobris*. Platonis,¹ Kal. Oct. Pelagiæ, viii Id. Oct. Austrebertæ, xiii Kal. Nov. Hilarionis, xii Kal. Nov. Germani Cap. iii Kal. Nov. *Novembris*. Willebrordi, vii Id. Nov. Martini Papæ, iv. Id. Nov. Fest. Reliquiarum, xiv Kal. Nov.

The Ripon Use seems to have been simply that of York, with a special office for St. Wilfrid.

The calendar of the York breviary has a few variations from that of the missal. In the month of May occurs the feast of St. John of Beverley, which does not appear in the missal, whilst the name of the Venerable Bede, which has a place in *catalogo sanctorum* in the latter, is absent from the former. In October, Plato appears as Piat, in conjunction with SS. Germanus, Remigius, Vedastus, and Bavo ;

¹ It is hardly necessary to explain that the great Pagan philosopher who bore this name was never canonised. St. Plato was an Abbot at Constantinople. Yet one is irresistibly reminded, on meeting the name "Plato" in the Calendar, of the striking words of Erasmus in his "*Convivium Religiosum*":—"Ego nonnunquam offendo quædam vel dicta à veteribus, vel scripta ab ethnicis, etiam poetis tam castè, tam sanctè, tam divinitus, ut mihi non possim persuadere, quin pectus illorum, quum illa scriberent, numen aliquod bonum agitaverit. Et fortasse latius se fundit spiritus Christi quam nos interpretamur. Et multi sunt in consortio sanctorum, qui non sunt apud nos in catalogo."

The probability is, however, that *Plato* is a mistake of the transcriber, and that *S. Piat*, or *Piat*,—for so the name appears in the calendar of the York Breviary,—is meant. St. Piat is one of the patron saints of the church of Tournay, in Belgium. He was born at Beneventum, and went as a missionary into Gaul. He was martyred at Tournay, A.D. 299.

and the name of Paulinus, Archbishop of York, is recorded on vi. Id. St. Wilfrid follows on iv. Id. Some of the saints are briefly described, *e.g.* Paulus as *primus heremita, confessor, non pontifex*; Babilla as *Episcopus*; Everildis as *virgo, non martyr*; Pelagia as *matrona*; Austreberta as *virgo, non martyr*; and Germanus as Bishop of Capua and confessor. The translation of St. John of Beverley is celebrated on viii. Kal. Nov. In December, the name of St. Barbara appears, but the note is appended, *non in usu Ebor.* The calendar specifies after the name of each saint the rank assigned to the festival and the number of lections appropriate to it, whether three or nine.

The Portiforium appears to have been frequently used by devout laymen. Bequests not unseldom occur in mediæval wills of the "Portous," or "Portiforium," which the testator had used for saying his matins or evensong. Richard, Lord Scrope, who died in 1403, leaves to his son Roger the book, *quo usus fui ad dicendum matutinas meas et vesperas*.¹

"The Pontifical of any church," says Maskell,² "is amongst the scarcest of its books existing; and this is no less true of those abroad than at home." This is easily accounted for. It was not a book belonging to the church, but was the private property of the bishop. Neither was it ever printed. No edition exists except those which, from time to time, have been published of the forms authorised by the Church of Rome. Only two pontificals belonging to the diocese of York are known to be in existence; one

¹ "Test. Ebor.," p. 278.

² "Monumenta Ritualia," i., Introd., p. cxiv.

of great antiquity, that of Egbert, Archbishop of York, the MS. of which is preserved in the library of Paris. Egbert's pontifical is rich in benedictions, many of which are of great beauty. The other is that of Cardinal Bainbrigg. But although they belonged to Archbishops of York, neither of them can be designated as peculiarly a York Use, except as regards the insertion, for convenience sake, of offices more properly belonging to the missal or the manual. It is obvious that these would be of the use of the diocese. Diversities are found to exist, in several particulars, from the *Ordo Romanus*, but this is the case, less or more, with all the known pontificals, whether of English or Scotch Use.

We take our leave here of the stately services which, for centuries, had accompanied the celebration of the Holy Eucharist within the glorious choir of the Minster of York, and the daily recitation of the offices for the different hours by the canons and their vicars. It is difficult to form an adequate idea of the splendour which must have characterised the former on days of high solemnity, when the Archbishop was received in state at the great western entrance by the Dean and as many members of the Metropolitan Church as could be gathered together, and conducted in solemn procession to the high altar, there to celebrate the pontifical mass; but we may gather some notion of the magnificence of such functions when we read in an inventory which was compiled soon after the year 1500, of the jewelled mitres, the processional crosses, and the extraordinary number of embroidered copes and vestments of costly material and varied hues which were

possessed by the church of York, and worn by those who accompanied the Archbishop, in seemly order, in those great processions.¹ The same inventory contains a list of the costly images and reliquaries which adorned the various shrines and altars, and the rich tapestry which hung around them. Even the coming forth of the Dean from his house to officiate on a day of high festival in the minster was marked by no little pomp and circumstance. The antiquary, Dodsworth,² tells us in his "Notes" that his grandfather had "seene Dean Higden attended to the church on a Christmas day by fifty gent. before him in tawney coates garded with black velvet, and thirty yemen behind him in like coates garded with saffron."³

But the splendours of a day of high festival were not always followed by that careful observance of decency and order at the ordinary offices which the rules of the Church imposed. Presentments were made from time to time as to the negligent performance of duty on the part of both canons and vicars.⁴

¹ Cf. York "Fabric Rolls," pp. 212-35.

² One of the most indefatigable of local antiquaries. He was born in 1585, at West Newton Grange, in Ryedale, and travelled over Yorkshire, making church notes, before the commencement of the civil wars, when so much destruction of stained glass, &c., was wrought by the hands of the Puritans. His vast collection of notes, extracts, and copies of MSS. were secured by Lord Fairfax, and eventually given to the Bodleian Library by Henry Fairfax, Dean of Norwich.

³ MS. in Bibl. Bodl., vol. cxxv., fol. 1046. Higden was Dean of York from 1516 till his death, in 1539.

⁴ Cf. Illustrative Documents appended to York "Fabric Rolls."

The daily offices,—so beautiful in their theory, which called upon the priests of God to commence their songs of praise as soon as the midnight hour was past and before the faintest streak of a summer's dawn could be seen in the eastern sky, and to continue them at stated intervals till the darkness of night closed in,—were too often carelessly attended and negligently rendered. Far-sighted men must have seen that a reaction was at hand. There was a growing conviction in the minds of many thoughtful persons, both clerical and lay, that it would be well if the offices of the Church could be made more simple in their form, less complicated in their structure. The idea was not altogether discouraged at Rome. The sanction of Pope Clement VII. was given to a revision of the breviary by Cardinal Quignon, and his work was published with that pope's approval in 1535. Its use was sanctioned also by Paul III. on condition of a license from the Apostolic See being obtained. The cardinal's arrangement reduced the number of lections to three, on all occasions, one from each Testament and one from a homily. The length of the Scripture lections was materially increased, giving increased prominence to the teaching of the inspired writings. It was abolished, however, in 1568 by a bull of Pius V. There can be no doubt that our Prayer-book owes to this breviary a portion of its preface, and the idea, in all probability, of its table of lessons.

CHAPTER XXI.

IN January, 1547, Edward VI. ascended the throne. He was but nine years old, and however precocious he might be, it is obvious that the steps, which so rapidly followed for carrying out the innovations which had for a considerable time been contemplated by Cranmer and others, were really the acts of his uncle, the Protector Somerset. But all was done in the king's name, and every opportunity was seized for prompting the boy-king to the utterance of sentiments in unison with the views of the reforming party. His first Parliament did not assemble until November, 1547. But the intervening time was not allowed to pass without something being done. During this period, Ridley attacked the old opinions in his sermons. Certain alterations were made which were studiously put forth as emanating solely from the royal authority. (1.) A book of homilies was issued. This was not so much a formulary of faith as a practical work, but it went a good deal beyond the "Necessary Erudition," published in the last reign, laying down very strongly the cardinal doctrine of the Reformers on the subject of justification by faith. The book was attacked by Gardiner as being inconsistent with the "Necessary Erudition." (2.) It was ordered that Erasmus' Paraphrase should be

put in all churches. (3.) A translation of Justus Jonas' Catechism was published under Cranmer's authority. It was undisguisedly a Lutheran summary of instruction.

Other steps were taken in a like direction. A general visitation was held under royal authority, and injunctions were issued which were grounded generally upon those which were put forth by Cromwell, as vicar-general, in 1538, with certain additions, amongst which the most noticeable are directions for the study of the New Testament by the clergy, the reading of the Lessons and the Epistles and Gospels in the vernacular, the prohibition of processions, the taking down of shrines, the putting up of alms-boxes in the churches, and the provision for moving testators to give to the poor-man's box instead of making bequests for masses *pro salute animæ*. The injunctions authorised the Book of Homilies and directed that chantry priests were to employ themselves in teaching the young. A form of bidding-prayer was ordered, in which, it may be noted, prayers for the dead were specially retained.

Special injunctions were transmitted to the Dean and Chapter of York. Their attention having been first drawn to the general ones issued by royal authority, it was ordered that when sermons were preached "the Pryme and Houres" might be omitted. A library was to be made in some convenient part of their church within a twelvemonth, and they were to provide copies for it of the works of Augustine, Chrysostom, Jerome, and others of the fathers, together with those of Erasmus and "other good

writers." Two English Bibles were to be provided for use in the choir, and two other copies placed in some convenient part of the body of the church for the use of the laity. Sermons were to be preached regularly every Sunday, the dean preaching two every year—on Christmas day and Easter day. Night services were forbidden. Instead of rising at midnight for matins, that office was to commence at six in the morning in summer and seven in winter. No cope or other vesture was to be worn over their surplices in the choir services.¹ On the days when nine lessons had been the rule, six only were to be used. One mass alone was to be said daily, and the hour fixed was nine in the forenoon. Evensong and compline, without any responds, were to be sung at three in the afternoon, and in the winter half-year, at two, or half-past. No anthems were to be used except such as were specified in the injunctions, or might hereafter be ordered by royal authority. A godly, retired, and contemplative life was earnestly pressed upon the clergy connected with the minster. All sermons and lectures, whether at visitations, chapters, or on any other occasion, were to be in the mother-tongue.

Similar injunctions appear to have been sent to all the cathedral churches. Their meaning was clear

¹ It had been the custom for secular canons to wear a black woollen cloth cope over their surplices in choir, excepting at Easter and Whitsuntide, and other high festivals and great saints' days, when the black cope was laid aside and a rich silk one worn in its stead for the procession and the grand high mass.—Cf. Dr. Rock's "Church of our Fathers," ii. pp. 84, 85.

enough. It must have been obvious to all the clergy that changes were in contemplation as regarded almost every detail of the services of the Church ; and the main characteristics of those alterations were unmistakably indicated, that is to say, giving the people the offices of the Church in the vernacular, and the abbreviation and general simplification of all her services.

Edward's first Parliament, which sat in November, 1547, repealed the statutes which were in existence against the Lollards ; got rid of that which made the " Necessary Doctrine " obligatory ; abrogated, in fact, every statute relating to religion, so that the king and his advisers might begin *de novo* with their work. Heresy, however, was still left punishable by common law. An act was passed relating to the administration of the Eucharist. This had two objects in view : one to put a stop to the indecent attacks made upon it ; the other to restore to the people their share in it by adding a form in English for reception by the laity in both kinds. No other change was at this time made in the mass.

An important alteration was made as to the election of bishops. The *cong  d' lire* was done away with, and the Crown invested with the sole power of appointing to bishoprics by letters patent, showing in a very marked manner the tendency that existed to exalt the secular power above the spiritual.

A very severe act was passed against vagabonds, which is said to have been directed against the wandering monks and mendicant friars.

York came in for a share of legislation. The

preamble to the statute of 1 Edw. VI., c. 9, describes it as a decaying place, and states that many of the parochial clergy were ill-provided for. Power was therefore given to the lord mayor and recorder, the ordinary, and six justices of the peace, to unite as many parishes and pull down as many churches as they deemed fitting; the materials of such as were destroyed to be applied to the repair of other churches and of bridges, and towards the relief of the poor.

A statute was also enacted for getting the remainder of the chantry and hospital lands, and the property of gilds and confraternities, into the king's hands. Cranmer was very anxious that this measure should be delayed until the king attained his majority, with a view to their revenues being applied to the augmentation of poor benefices, but his efforts were fruitless. The one good result of the dissolution of these various foundations was the foundation of grammar schools in different places. But by far the greater part of the chantry lands, &c., fell into the hands of needy and unscrupulous courtiers, whose loud professions of reforming zeal were the outcome, not of godliness, but of greed. The needs of the royal exchequer were also supplemented out of the spoils which were furnished by their seizure. At York, the shrines and altars were stripped of their costly and beautiful plate and ornaments, which were broken up and sent to the mint to be turned into coin. Churchwardens in the various parishes soon followed suit, laid hands upon chalices and other church furniture, vestments, bells, &c., and turned them into money. But the confiscation of the gild property, together with that of the

hospitals, was a yet greater wrong. As Professor Stubbs well says, "whatever may have been the results of the stoppage of monastic charity, it was one unquestionable cause of the growth of town pauperism. The extant regulations and accounts of the gilds show how this duty was carried into effect; no doubt there was much self-indulgence and display, but there was also effective relief. The charities of the great London companies are a survival of a system which was once in full working in every market town."¹

The convocation which sat in this year memorialised the archbishop that the canon law should be altered, that they should have a share in the legislature and sit in the House of Commons, and that they might have a hand in revising the services. The question of the celibacy of the clergy was brought under discussion. A proposition to do away with it was carried by a considerable majority, fifty-three being in favour of it and only twenty-two against. In the convocation of 1549 a similar motion had seventy supporters. But the sanction of the legislature was required, and two acts were passed respecting it. The first *allowed* marriage, but inserted a clause to the effect that a single life was preferable. The second act omitted this clause.

By far the most important work carried on at this time was the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer. It was entrusted to certain commissioners, composed of both parties, who met at Windsor. Ridley tells us that they were *all* agreed that the

¹ "Constitutional Hist.," iii. p. 600.

worship should be in the vernacular. Probably, after a time, the men of the Old Learning withdrew themselves. Their instructions were to revise the old services, purify and retrench them. The Missal of Sarum, that of York and other Uses, the Consultation of Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, the Breviary of English Use, and, as there is reason to believe, the reformed breviary of Cardinal Quignon, formed the chief materials for their work. There seems to be evidence that this first book of Edward VI. was sanctioned by convocation. It was formally authorised by an Act of Parliament in January, 1549. This was the first Act of Uniformity, and it provided that the book should come into use on the Whit-sunday following.

The form which it contained for the celebration of the Holy Communion was evidently intended to provoke as little as might be any antagonistic feeling. The old name of "the Mass" was retained. The altars and their furniture remained as they were, and the priest who celebrated was to be apparelled in a cope or vestment over his alb; and his assistant ministers, if such were present, were to be arrayed, as heretofore, in albs with tunicles, thus presenting to the eye what the worshipper had always been accustomed to see. The service began, as we now have it, with the Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity. An introit, or psalm proper to the day was then sung, followed by the Lesser Litany. After this came the *Gloria in excelsis*, succeeded by collects, one for the day or season, the other for the king, preceding the Epistle, Gospel, and Nicene Creed. A sermon or homily

followed, to which exhortations on the subject of communion might be added at the discretion of the minister. It is worthy of note that one of the rubrics with regard to this implies that daily communion was to be observed in cathedral churches *and other places*, referring probably to collegiate institutions, such as Ripon, Beverley, Southwell, &c. The offertory came next, comprising the sentences, the oblation of the alms and elements, the daily and proper prefaces, and the *Sanctus*. Then came one long continuous prayer, analogous to the *Canon Missæ*, which embraced the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, the Prayer of Consecration (special direction being given for omission of the elevation or showing of the Sacrament to the people), the first thanksgiving in our present Post-communion, and the Lord's Prayer. After a mutual blessing on the part of priest and people, a short lesson, "Christ our Paschal Lamb," was said by the priest, followed by the Invitatory, the Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and prayer of Humble Access. Then came the Priest's Communion, followed of course by that of the laity, during which the *Agnus Dei* was sung, together with certain sentences of Holy Scripture. What is now the second thanksgiving in our Post-communion followed, the whole concluding with the Benediction.

The daily offices of the Church were reduced to two, Matins and Evensong, names which still survive in the calendar of our Prayer-book, and were constructed out of those contained in the Breviaries of English Use. The morning office was a condensation of matins, lauds and prime, and evensong, in like

manner, was an abbreviated form of vespers and compline.

It could be no matter of surprise that the issue of this book caused a great sensation. It was followed by insurrections in different parts of the kingdom, the most serious of which were in Norfolk and Devon. Some of these risings were not purely of a religious character. There was much distress amongst the labouring classes, and they had a strong feeling that, somehow or other, it was connected with the suppression of the monasteries and the rise of a new order of landholders, who had not the same sympathy with the poor as had been manifested by the religious orders. They were now called upon to make a complete change in the mode of worship to which they had been accustomed, and they could not disconnect it from previous disarrangements of the established order of things which they had witnessed, and which they regarded with the utmost antipathy. The insurrection in Devon was the one most distinguished for religious fervour. The insurgents published certain articles, which were answered by Cranmer. They desired the re-enactment of the Six Articles, the mass to be used as heretofore, the Blessed Sacrament to hang over the high altar, and Communion to be in one kind only.

The reformed service appears, however, to have come, on the whole, into general use almost immediately. But a new set of assailants arose. A provisional arrangement which was adopted at the Diet of Augsburg in May, 1548, called the *Interim*

Augustanum, gave great offence to a large number of foreign Protestants, who left their homes in consequence and came over to England, where they appear to have met with a kindly reception by Cranmer, and other eminent persons of the New Learning. Those of the greatest note amongst these refugees were John à Lasco, Bucer, and Peter Martyr. John à Lasco was allowed to minister in London to the foreigners; Bucer was appointed divinity professor at Cambridge; and Peter Martyr to the same chair at Oxford, where the latter carried on disputations on the subject of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, strongly condemning the teaching that grace was conferred by the Sacraments. It was a mode of expression, however, which Bucer, who took higher views respecting the Eucharist, did not scruple to use.

In 1550 a controversy arose respecting vestments, owing to the pertinacity of Hooper, who after the passing of the Six Articles Act, had retired to Zurich, where, under the teaching of Bullinger, he imbibed the Swiss theology in all its fulness, and advocated its principles with unflinching zeal and energy. He was appointed to the bishopric of Gloucester, but demurred to the episcopal garments. Pressure was brought upon Cranmer to dispense with the dress and to consecrate him, but this the primate refused. A compromise, however, finally took place and he received consecration.

Another question was mooted about altars, in which Hooper took an active part, in conjunction with Ridley, who had lately been appointed Bishop

of London, and who took energetic measures for their removal. An order of council was obtained directing them to be taken down and replaced by wooden tables, with the view of rooting out the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist.

As a concession to the reforming party, of whom Hooper was the most prominent partisan, a revision of the Prayer-book was determined upon. It had been persistently urged upon Somerset and Cranmer by Calvin, "who thought himself wiser than the antient church, and fit to dictate religion to all countries in Christendom."¹ It was urged forward also with much pertinacity by the foreign refugees, and a committee was appointed for the purpose, who prosecuted their labours during 1550 and 1551. Peter Martyr and Bucer were consulted during its progress. The latter, however, died early in 1551, before the work was completed. It was submitted to Parliament and sanctioned in 1552, and was ordered to be brought into use on All Saints' day in that year.

The office for the Holy Communion as given in the first Prayer-book was considerably modified, in the direction, certainly, of the anti-Roman views of the more advanced section of the reforming party, who were especially anxious that there should be as little ground as possible for the service being supposed to favour the doctrine of the real presence in the Holy Eucharist. This was especially marked in

¹ These are Collier's caustic words.—"Eccl. Hist.," ii., p. 309.

the form of administration. The words heretofore used, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., were omitted, and their place supplied by "Take and eat this in remembrance," &c. As Hardwick observes, "the old formula was quite compatible with a belief in transubstantiation; the new formula, on the contrary, was made consistent even with the lax hypothesis of Zwingli."¹ But it is quite clear that those who undertook the task of revision had no idea whatsoever of transforming it into a service which was incapable of being accepted by those who held higher views with regard to Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The preamble of the statute, which authorises the book of 1552, speaks of the first book in no ambiguous terms as "a very godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church." As Collier says, "there is no stroke of censure, no charge of superstition, no blemish, either with regard to doctrine or ceremonial thrown upon it."² The truth is, no doubt, that this revision was a compromise. It was intended, if it might be, to satisfy the scrupulous consciences of those who had adopted, in a greater or lesser degree, the religious opinions which were held by the foreign reformers, without absolutely provoking the active hostility of those whose views were more in accordance with primitive antiquity and Catholic teaching.

The more prominent changes in the new service-book were the leaving out of the name of "The Mass" from the title of the Communion office, the

¹ "Hist. Ref.," p. 211.

² "Eccl. Hist.," ii. p. 320.

introduction of the Decalogue at its commencement, the transference of the Oblatory thanksgiving to the Post-communion, the omission of the invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Consecration prayer, and the withdrawal of any direct prayer for the souls of the departed. The alteration of the words of administration has already been mentioned. In addition to these changes a surplice was now the only vestment required to be worn by the officiating minister, and a rochet by a bishop. Chasubles and copes, stoles and tunicles, were to disappear. The offices for Morning and Evening Prayer were now to commence with certain sentences of Holy Scripture, and a general confession, followed by a form of absolution. The form of exorcism was left out of the baptismal office, and that of extreme unction withdrawn from the office for the visitation of the sick. Other minor changes were also made, and a declaration was added at the last moment, before the issue of the book, explaining that, although communicants were directed to kneel at the reception, no adoration was intended to the elements, or to any real and essential presence in them of Christ's natural flesh and blood.

Another work that went on was the construction of Articles of Faith; which Cranmer was instructed to prepare. They were published in 1552. Whether they were ever authorised by convocation is doubtful. They were forty-two in number, and were founded to a great extent upon those which were discussed in 1538 between the German divines and the English. It is said to have been a favourite scheme of Cranmer's to get such a confession of faith established

as all the reformers, both at home and abroad, might join in.

A catechism was published at the end of the articles, which is attributed to Poynt. It rested only upon the royal authority.

Simultaneously with the drawing up of the articles another work was carried on by certain commissioners, who were entrusted with the task of revising the canon law, bringing it into an organised form, and adapting it to the then existing requirements and constitution of the Church of England. The code which they drew up bears the name of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. It was completed before the death of Edward, but in consequence of that event it never was authorised by the legislature.

We do not find that Archbishop Holgate took any prominent part in the work carried on by Cranmer and the other leaders of the reforming party, but there is evidence that he was thoroughly in harmony with them. The injunctions which he issued to the capitular body at York on the 15th August, 1552, when the second book of Common Prayer was on the eve of publication, show this plainly enough. Provision was to be made by the Chapter for the delivery of divinity lectures, at which the attendance of the vicars choral, deacons, and other inferior ministers of the church of York was enforced, and they were to be examined once a month, either by some of the canons or by the divinity reader himself, to ascertain the amount of knowledge they had gained therefrom. Preaching was much insisted upon, and a cycle of preachers was arranged for the several

Sundays of the year, very much in the form of that which is now in force. Each vicar choral under the age of forty years, and each of the deacons, was enjoined to commit to memory every week a chapter of St. Paul's Epistles, in Latin, "after the translation of Erasmus." A similar task was imposed upon the choristers, who were each to learn a chapter of the Gospels and Acts, in English, every week, or at the least every fortnight; and they were to be examined as to their proficiency, every Sunday, or at any rate at the fortnight's end, by the master of the choristers. The examination of the vicars choral the Archbishop reserved to himself or to some competent person appointed by him. Even those above forty years old were not permitted altogether to escape, for they were to read their weekly chapter with such an amount of care as to be able to give a fair account of it when called upon. Devout preparation for weekly, or even more frequent communion was urgently pressed upon all the members of the Church, of whatever degree. Every vicar choral was to have an English Testament of his own. Those of them who were celibates and lived together in common were to read daily a chapter therein after dinner and supper, and the like practice was enjoined upon those who were married and lived in their own houses, so that the wives and servants of such might have the advantage of listening to the daily reading of the Word of God.

No ornate singing was to be allowed at any of the services of the Church, at which nothing but plain song was to be used, so as "that which shalbe songe

and redde may be well herde and understande of the laye and ignorant people." A singular prohibition is added,—the organ was silenced both at Morning Prayer, at the celebration of Holy Communion, and at Evening Prayer; the Archbishop enjoining that "the said playnge do utterlie cease and be left [in] the tyme of divyne service within the said churchē." The master of the choristers, who had acted as organist in times past, was bidden "to serve God in such vocacion as he can conveniently and may," though he was still to assist in the singing, especially on Sundays and festivals. The clerical tonsure was abolished. No ecclesiastic connected with the minster was thenceforth to "shave his crowne, under payne of censures of the churchē." Everyone, whether canon, vicar choral, or other minister or official, belonging to the church, was to subscribe the articles of religion which had been set forth.

All canopy and tabernacle work, within the niches of which the venerated images of the Blessed Virgin Mary and saints and martyrs had stood, especially over the high altar, was to be taken down with all convenient speed, and the spaces which had been occupied by its costly and beautiful carving transformed into a plain, flat surface, on which sentences of Holy Scripture were to be painted.

The Archbishop shows much anxiety about the speedy furnishing of the library with suitable books, specifying, in particular, "the ancient doctors of the churchē,"—those, namely, who wrote within the first six centuries of the Christian era. Certain

later commentators are particularly enumerated,—Musculus upon St. Matthew, John Brentius upon St. Luke, Calvin and Bullinger upon the Epistles, and Erasmus' Annotations upon the New Testament—as works which were to be at once provided for the common use of all who should frequent it.

The animus of the whole of the injunctions is unmistakable. Holgate, it is clear, sympathised heart and soul with the foreign reformers and the changes they had set on foot. The stately services of the minster were to be reduced to as low a level as might be, and when Calvin and Bullinger were put forward as authorised expositors of Holy Scripture, it is obvious that the "New Learning" in its more exaggerated form was being inculcated as vigorously as possible by the prelate who at this particular juncture occupied the episcopal chair of York.

Of the reception which Holgate's injunctions met with on the part of the capitular body, and of the extent to which they were carried out, we have no account. Little, probably, was done, for the young king died on the 6th July, 1553, not quite a twelve-month after their issue. His death extinguished for a time all the hopes and aspirations of the reformers, and brought back at once, for a brief season, the services of the olden time.

CHAPTER XXII.

AFTER the death of Edward VI., Lady Jane Grey consented, with much reluctance, to be proclaimed queen ; but she relinquished all claim to the title after a brief tenure of the honours of sovereignty for only thirteen days. His sister Mary succeeded, dating her accession from the day of her brother's decease. A speedy change took place as to religious matters. When Parliament met after the queen's coronation, it was opened with a celebration of High Mass, in accordance with the form always observed on such occasions in her father's time. The statutes which had reference to the divorce of Katherine of Arragon and the queen's legitimacy, and others which related to the marriage of the clergy, communion in both kinds, and the establishment of the two books of Common Prayer, were abrogated,—every statute, in fact, concerning religion enacted in her brother's reign, was repealed. A royal proclamation to this effect was issued on the 5th December following, which also notified the re-establishment of the mass throughout the kingdom. Another proclamation was directed against any obstruction being offered or disturbance made when the priests were saying mass or performing any sacred function. The nation at large appear to have accepted the restoration of the mass

and the other old services and usages with great unanimity and contentment. In the autumn of the following year (1554), Cardinal Pole arrived in England, bringing with him the formal documents issued by Pope Julius III. for the reconciliation of the nation to the see of Rome. They were produced before Parliament by the cardinal on the 30th November, when both Houses received on their knees the absolution which he was authorised by the Apostolic See to pronounce after he had received, through its representatives, the submission of the nation. On Advent Sunday a solemn service was held at St. Paul's, when the apostolic benediction was imparted by the cardinal to the assembled multitude in the presence of the queen, the lord mayor, and aldermen, and others of importance in the city, Bishop Gardiner preaching the sermon. A few days afterwards both Houses of Convocation made their submission to the Holy See with all due form and solemnity.

But there was one concession the queen could not obtain. The Houses of Parliament acquiesced in an acknowledgment of the papal jurisdiction, though it was by no means a unanimous feeling in the Lower House ; but they steadfastly resisted anything which wore the semblance of a resumption of the lands of the monastic houses, the chantries, and the gilds. Those lands had now been dispersed, had been bought and sold and re-sold, and thousands of her subjects, of all ranks and degrees, regarded themselves as their rightful owners. Mary was constrained to forego her own feeling on the subject, and the consent of the pope was obtained that the church lands

might remain without let or hindrance in the hands of their present holders.

All that Mary was able to accomplish in the way of restitution was the re-establishment of the Monastery of Westminster, under the government of Abbot Feckenham. The Dominicans were also replaced in Smithfield, the Observant Friars at Greenwich, the Bridgettines at Sion House, and the Carthusians at Sheen. The Hospitallers, or Knights of Jerusalem, had likewise some of their lands restored. In each case the property was in the hands of the Crown.

But measures fraught with evil omen to the reforming party were soon put in force. Some of the bishops, indeed, conformed, but others were arrested and imprisoned, Holgate, the Archbishop of York, being one. Others made their escape in company with the foreign refugees who, at the very beginning of Mary's reign, were ordered to depart from England within a given time on pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of all their possessions. Multitudes of those who sympathised with their religious views, and perchance had gloomy forebodings of an impending persecution, accompanied them into exile. They took refuge at various places, Strasburg and Frankfort, Basle, Zurich and Geneva, being amongst the chief places where they received a kindly and generous welcome. Amongst the most prominent of the English refugees were Bishops Coverdale, Barlow, Poynt, Scory, and Bale, certain deans and archdeacons, and a great number of clergy, the names of some of whom subsequently became well known, such as Jewel, Grindal, and Sandys, Nowell and Pilkington, Whittingham and John Foxe.

A policy of extermination was ere long decided upon; nor was it long before it was carried out in the most ruthless manner. It would be a repulsive task to recapitulate the horrors of the persecution which took place, and happily, as far as Yorkshire is concerned, it is needless, for it is all but absolutely free from the atrocity of the stake and the faggot. One sufferer only is recorded. A page of the parish register of Richmond contains a brief entry of a poor man named Snell, who was "brent" there in September, 1558.

That Mary had great provocation from the fanaticism of the more extreme adherents of the reforming party is unquestionable. "They heaped on the queen, her bishops, and her religion every indecent and irritating epithet which language could supply. Her clergy could not exercise their functions without danger to their lives; a dagger was thrown at one priest in the pulpit, a gun was discharged at another, and several wounds were inflicted on a third while he administered the communion in his church. The chief supporters of the treason of Northumberland, the most active amongst the adherents of Wyatt, professed the reformed creed; an impostor was suborned to personate Edward VI.; some congregations prayed for the death of the queen; tracts filled with libellous and treasonable matter were transmitted from the exiles in Germany; and successive insurrections were planned by the fugitives in France."¹

Evidence enough exists of the truth of these words

¹ Lingard's "Hist. Engl.," v. p. 239.

of Dr. Lingard, but no provocation can be allowed to extenuate the cruelties which were perpetrated, and which have left a deeply-rooted prejudice in the English mind against a religion which it associates with them. The best of our English Roman Catholic writers have not been slow to express their abhorrence of that relentless persecution. "As to the number and character of the sufferers," says Mr. Tierney, "certain it is that no allowances can relieve the horror, no palliatives can remove the infamy that must ever attach to these proceedings. The amount of real victims is too great to be affected by any partial deductions. Were the catalogue limited to a few persons, we might pause to examine the merits of each individual case, but when, after the removal of every doubtful or objectionable name, a frightful list of not fewer than two hundred still remains, we can only turn with horror from the blood-stained page, and be thankful that such things have passed away."¹ Dr. Lingard speaks almost as strongly.

But at that period, and long afterwards, toleration for diversity in religious views was a thing unknown. As Lingard truly says, "the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party."² The reforming party, when they had the upper hand, were quite as ready to burn those who held heretical opinions as were the Roman Catholics. Two persons suffered that cruel death in Edward VI.'s reign on account of their religious

¹ Tierney's Ed. of "Dodd's Church Hist.," vol. ii. p. 107.

² "Hist. Engl." v. p. 259.

opinions,—Joan Bocher, and a Dutchman called Peter van Paris. Joan Bocher's execution was pressed on Edward by Cranmer, who quoted from the law of Moses that blasphemers should be stoned, and that Joan had rushed with violence against the Apostles' Creed, and deserved the punishment of a blasphemer. It has indeed been alleged in extenuation that these people were Anabaptists, who certainly held opinions subversive of civil government, but there can scarcely be any doubt that they really suffered on account of holding erroneous theological views. If Mary's victims had been counted by units only, her persecution would have left little or no impression, probably, on the public mind, but the numbers were so appalling that the impression remains even yet ineffaceable.

The line taken by Archbishop Holgate, as indicated above, was certain to place him in an obnoxious attitude, as regarded the new sovereign. He was, moreover, a married ecclesiastic, and one of the first acts of Mary's reign was to deprive the married clergy of their preferments. Holgate was accordingly deprived of his archbishopric, and in addition to that was committed to the Tower, chiefly because of his opposition to the queen's title to the Crown. He remained a prisoner for a year and a half, when he was released, it is said, on the intercession of Philip. He retired to Hemsworth, in Yorkshire, where he is supposed to have been born, and where he probably died in the year 1556, which is the date of the probate of his will. But no sepulchral memorial exists to mark the place where his body lies, nor is there

any record of his interment in the Hemsworth parish register.

The charitable foundations in Yorkshire associated with his name were not altogether the outcome of posthumous liberality. He obtained letters patent from Henry VIII. for the foundation of three grammar-schools in the year 1546, at York, Old Malton, and Hemsworth. Each school was to be a separate corporation, with statutes and ordinances to be framed by the archbishop. Lands of the annual value of £24 were given to the schoolmaster of Hemsworth. These schools are still in existence, under a revised system of government adapted to the requirements of the present day, and are doing good and useful work. Hemsworth hospital was founded under the provisions of his will, in which he laid down minute provisions for its regulation. The property bequeathed for its maintenance has much increased in value. It accommodates ten brethren and ten sisters, who have each a house and £40 a year. The management of the charity is now vested in trustees, under a scheme drawn up by the Court of Chancery in 1857.

The vacancy caused by Archbishop Holgate's deprivation was speedily filled by the appointment of Nicholas Heath. He had been successively Bishop of Llandaff, Rochester, and Worcester. Of the latter see he was deprived by Edward VI. for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, but was restored by Mary. The bull of Pope Paul IV. confirming his election to the see of York bears date the 21st June, 1555, and is the last instrument of the kind relating

to this see. The pallium was sent to him in the October following, and he was enthroned by proxy on the 22nd January, 1555-6.

Archbishop Heath was a learned and most exemplary prelate, devout in the exercise of his own personal religion, but mild and tolerant as regarded the conscientious convictions of those who took opposite views. It is believed that the immunity which the North of England enjoyed from the cruel persecutions which disgraced the later years of Mary's reign was due, to a great extent, to the gentler nature of Heath in York and Tunstall in Durham, neither of whom were in accord with the ruthless determination of those who sought to extirpate the reforming element from the country by the fires of Smithfield.

Heath had, in some ways, considerable influence with Mary. He induced her to restore to the see the Ripon lordship and seven manors which had been alienated from it, as well as Southwell and five other manors in Nottinghamshire.

Mary's death took place on the 17th November, 1558. Her reign is one whose records, as regards the mode she took to force her own religious views upon those of her people whose convictions were adverse to them, can never be regarded without a shudder, but her personal virtues were many. *Mulier sane pia*, says Godwin, *clemens, moribusque castissimis, et usquequaque laudanda, si religionis errorem non spectes.*

When Elizabeth ascended the throne she was met at once by the religious difficulty, but she did not at once make a change. The ceremonies of her coro-

nation were carried out after the old forms, and the mass went on as it had done during the reign of her sister, the queen attending its celebration in the accustomed manner; the only alteration which was made being an order that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Litany, the Commandments, and the Epistle and Gospel for the day, should be said in English. She also required that the elevation of the host should be omitted. No disposition was shown to break with the Apostolic See. Her accession was announced to the pope in the usual form. But this brought up at Rome the whole question of the divorce and of her own legitimacy. Paul IV. demanded that her claim to the throne should be submitted to the judgment of Rome. This demand of the pope was met as her father would have met it. A parliament met in January, 1559, and passed an act which recognised the legitimacy of Elizabeth and her rightful accession to the throne.

Another important statute followed, which re-established the royal supremacy. The queen, indeed, laid aside the title of Supreme Head in the hope of softening the opposition of the more scrupulous among the clergy, and declared in the injunctions which she issued in the same year, that she did not challenge any more authority than "under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these realms;" a statement which was further explained in Article XXXVII., in the form in which it subsequently appeared in 1562. But the oath of supremacy, enjoined by the act, was a stumbling-block which the bishops, with one single exception, could

not get over. All refused it except Kitchen, the Bishop of Llandaff. As might have been anticipated, their refusal was followed by deprivation. Some few suffered a short imprisonment, but Bonner was the only one treated with actual severity. He was condemned to perpetual confinement, which, according to Heylin, was done more for his own personal safety than in the way of punishment, the popular feeling against him being so strong that his life would have been in danger, had he appeared in public.

Archbishop Heath now ceased to preside over the see of York, and went into an honourable retirement at Cobham in Surrey, where he had a small estate. But he was always treated with the utmost respect by Elizabeth, who visited him at Cobham on more than one occasion.

The statute establishing the royal supremacy paved the way for another important measure, the first step to which consisted in the appointment of a committee for the revisal of the two Prayer-books of Edward VI., and the formation of a new order of service for the public worship of the Church of England. Secretary Cecil had the general direction of the proceedings of the commissioners, and in Parker's absence through illness, Guest, a man of great learning, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester, was the mainspring of the work of revision. When the book left the hands of the committee to be submitted to the queen, it was more in accordance with the views of the reforming party than her majesty approved. It enjoined the surplice, but specified no other vesture as being allowable at the celebration of Holy Communion,

and standing or kneeling at reception by the communicants was treated as a matter of indifference. In the end, Edward's second book was taken as the general basis of the whole, but with certain changes. The principal alterations were that the services were to be said "in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel," instead of "in such place as the people may best hear;" and a direction was given that "at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration," the minister was to "use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI." The words used at the delivery of the elements in the two prayer-books of Edward were combined, "lest," says Heylin, "under the colour of rejecting a carnal, they might be thought also to deny such a real presence as was defended in the writings of the antient Fathers." For a similar reason, "the declaration on kneeling" was left out, much to the dissatisfaction of many amongst the reforming party. The prayer in the Litany for deliverance "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," was expunged, and the form of oath in the Ordinal was altered. It was entitled "'The oath of the queen's sovereignty," instead of "the oath for the king's supremacy," and is directed "against the power and authority of all foreign potentates," instead of "against the usurped power and authority of the Bishop of Rome."

The Book of Common Prayer, as finally issued, was a fusion of the two books of Edward VI., and was authorised for use throughout the realm, by the

statute known as Elizabeth's "Act of Uniformity," which enjoined the attendance of all persons who had no lawful excuse or hindrance, at their parish church or chapel, and penalties were imposed upon those who wilfully absented themselves. Under the provisions of this act the book was to come into general use on St. John Baptist's day next following. It was at once ordered by the queen to be read in her own private chapel, which was done on Sunday, the 12th May, and three days afterwards it was used at St. Paul's before "a very august assembly of the Court."

There was very little opposition. Only 189 out of the whole body of the clergy refused compliance, and resigned their livings.

Shortly afterwards, the queen appointed Matthew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury, and he was consecrated at Lambeth on the 17th December, in the same year. Early in the following year (1560), Thomas Young was translated from St. David's to the see of York, on the recommendation of Parker. He was one of those who went into exile in Mary's reign, taking refuge in Wesel, in company with Scory and about a hundred others, "all contented, seemingly, with King Edward's liturgy, for they never used any other."¹ Parker, apparently, was "satisfied of his ability, prudence, and resolution. The Court manifested an equal confidence, by appointing him President of the North."²

The next important step which was taken was the

¹ Soames' "Elizabethan Hist.," p. 20. He quotes from Strype's "Mem.," iii. p. 238.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

revision of the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI. As finally agreed upon by the southern convocation, they were, as we have them, thirty-nine in number. The northern convocation does not seem to have had any direct influence as regards the revision. The Archbishop of York and his suffragans of Durham and Chester, subscribed in the synod of the southern province on the occasion, but there appears reason to believe that the northern clergy were consulted by their primate at the beginning of February, 1562-3.

Considerable modifications took place at this time in Edward's Articles. "The statements of the Church were amplified on certain doctrines, more especially those in which her teaching had been misrepresented; other subjects were omitted altogether, owing partly to the disappearance of the forms of misbelief at which they had been levelled, and partly to a manifest anxiety of the compilers to abstain, as far as might be, from scholastic questions: while, in reference to the Eucharist, of which the statement may in every case be taken as one of the best criteria for deciding the special character of all confessions issued at this period, the Church of England occupied a more distinct and independent place than in the previous list of Articles. The Romish theory of transubstantiation was repudiated quite as strongly as before: the theory, alike of Romanist and Lutheran, touching the manducation of our Lord's Body by the wicked, was no less obnoxious to the majority of the synod: yet, in order to establish a position equally removed from Zwingli's, they determined that the Body of Christ is after a heavenly manner given,

taken, and eaten in the Lord's Supper, and at last withdrew a clause which in the former Articles denied the possibility of 'the reall and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes flesh and bloude),' upon the ground that His humanity is locally restricted to the place of His glorification."¹

The reformation of the Church of England, as far as her public ministrations were concerned, may be said, speaking in general terms, to have been completed by this revision of the Articles of religion, though they were not definitely imposed by law; nor was subscription made obligatory upon all the clergy until the year 1571.

Elizabeth's Prayer-book was, however, very far from satisfactory to a large body of men, who yet, at that time, had no formed idea of separating themselves from the reformed Church of England. That body was chiefly composed of those who had gone into exile in Mary's reign to escape the persecution which then took place. At Geneva, Zurich, and elsewhere, their aversion from all that savoured of the doctrines of the Church of Rome became strengthened by their constant and intimate intercourse with foreign Protestants. They had become accustomed, moreover, to join in a form of worship which was bare of ceremonial and devoid of such observances as bore any resemblance to those of the Roman ritual, and they could not away with a book which compelled them to put on vestments which they abhorred and to use words and gestures which they hated.

¹ Hardwick, "Hist. Ref.," pp. 230, 231.

The antipathy which they entertained against cope and surplice, against the cross in baptism, against kneeling at reception of Holy Communion, against organs in churches, against the keeping of Saints' days, and against the use of gowns and square caps as their ordinary outdoor apparel, was expressed in no measured terms, and made the subject of petition and remonstrance addressed to the houses of convocation. Their conduct, moreover, in celebrating divine worship was lawless in the extreme, and had got to such a height in 1564 that the matter was laid before the queen, who was greatly incensed at such insubordination, and gave directions to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to take measures for the maintenance of order and uniformity, and enjoined that none should hereafter be admitted to any ecclesiastical preferment who refused to promise compliance with the rules and orders laid down in the Book of Common Prayer and authorised by the Act of Uniformity, and obedience to the enactments of that statute.

The bishops, as a body, were probably averse to the use of any vestment except the surplice, and disinclined to enforce the use, in common life, of a distinctively ecclesiastical dress upon the clergy; but they were astute enough to see that the action of the extreme section of the reformers, if it remained unchecked, would end in the destruction of episcopal authority and the establishment of popular supremacy in its place. They therefore supported the queen in her determined resistance to the clamour which was raised.

There was dislike enough to the new service-book in the diocese of York, though concealed for a time under the veil of an outward conformity. But it was on the part of a different set of people, and the outcome of a totally different state of religious feeling. The Puritans, as the extreme reformers began to be termed about the year 1565, had gained little or no footing in the North of England. The sympathies of its inhabitants were at that time wholly with the old religion. Sir Ralph Sadler writes, in 1569, that "there be not in all this countrey ten gentilmen that do favour and allowe of her Majestie's proceedings in the cause of religion."¹ He describes the lower orders also as being strongly imbued with the "olde popish doctryne." Nowhere, indeed (to use the words of Surtees), did "the first pale and struggling ray of the Reformation break with more unwelcome lustre" than in the northern counties, the attachment of whose inhabitants to the ancient faith was deep and strong. It was a feeling which "lay like lees at the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel were ever so little stirred came to the top."²

The "vessel" was "stirred" by the ill-starred enterprise of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569, the objects of which were to rescue Mary Queen of Scots from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to subvert the government of Elizabeth, and to re-establish the ancient faith. The feeling which "lay like lees at the bottom" was manifested by the way in which so many of Yorkshire's gallant

¹ "State Papers," ii. p. 55.

² Lord Bacon.

sons gathered round the standard of the two earls, eager to do battle for what they believed to be a good and holy cause. But it was an inauspicious movement, "begun without foresight, conducted without energy," and it was speedily crushed, as will be seen in the following chapter.

There was dislike enough to the new service-book in the diocese of York, though concealed for a time under the veil of an outward conformity. But it was on the part of a different set of people, and the outcome of a totally different state of religious feeling. The Puritans, as the extreme reformers began to be termed about the year 1565, had gained little or no footing in the North of England. The sympathies of its inhabitants were at that time wholly with the old religion. Sir Ralph Sadler writes, in 1569, that "there be not in all this countrey ten gentilmen that do favour and allowe of her Majestie's proceedings in the cause of religion."¹ He describes the lower orders also as being strongly imbued with the "olde popish doctryne." Nowhere, indeed (to use the words of Surtees), did "the first pale and struggling ray of the Reformation break with more unwelcome lustre" than in the northern counties, the attachment of whose inhabitants to the ancient faith was deep and strong. It was a feeling which "lay like lees at the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel were ever so little stirred came to the top."²

The "vessel" was "stirred" by the ill-starred enterprise of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland in 1569, the objects of which were to rescue Mary Queen of Scots from the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to subvert the government of Elizabeth, and to re-establish the ancient faith. The feeling which "lay like lees at the bottom" was manifested by the way in which so many of Yorkshire's gallant

¹ "State Papers," ii. p. 55.

² Lord Bacon.

sons gathered round the standard of the two earls, eager to do battle for what they believed to be a good and holy cause. But it was an inauspicious movement, "begun without foresight, conducted without energy," and it was speedily crushed, as will be seen in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A GREAT amount of sympathy was felt at this time, on the part of those who clung to the old religion, for Mary, Queen of Scots, whose misfortunes attracted no little share of attention. The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the ancient nobility of England, had been sent to the Tower. His main offence was his aspiring to the hand of the Queen of Scotland. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were in favour of this alliance. Elizabeth, having some suspicion as to their ulterior views, summoned them both to Court. This caused great apprehension in the minds of the two earls, who became impressed with a conviction that the queen was really aiming at their lives and the confiscation of their property, for it was reported that the queen's troops were on their way to seize them. Upon this they hastily armed their retainers and marched southwards, gathering up recruits as they advanced. Their force became considerable. Sir Ralph Sadler, writing on the 26th November, 1569, reports to the queen that the number of the rebels was estimated at about 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse. They made their way to Durham without opposition, entered the cathedral, destroyed the English service-books, and caused mass to be celebrated. They did the like in many of the parish churches. A detachment of the in-

surgents took possession of Hartlepool, the main body marching into Yorkshire. They advanced as far as Clifford Moor, near Wetherby, and issued proclamations, setting forth the objects they had in view, namely, the restoration of the old religion and the removal of the evil counsellors by whom the queen was surrounded, professing at the same time loyalty and devotion to her majesty's person. Amongst the Yorkshire gentry who joined them, the most important was Richard Norton, of Norton Conyers, a man of ancient lineage, and one who had occupied many prominent positions. He was old, but he entered into their plans with all the ardour of youth. A devoted attachment to the ancient faith, and strong personal regard for the Earl of Northumberland, were the chief motives which impelled him to join the insurgents. Eight gallant sons followed him. Camden describes him as "an old gentleman, with a reverend grey head, bearing a cross with a streamer."

"The Nortons ancyent had the cross,
And the five wounds our Lord did beare."

A like banner had waved over the heads of those who took part in the "Pilgrimage of Grace," in which Norton himself and some of the older insurgents had very possibly been engaged. Northumberland's father had perished in it. He himself had been restored in blood and to the earldom by Queen Mary. But he was not deterred by his father's fate from engaging in a similar enterprise.

The Earl of Sussex, meanwhile, was advancing with 3,000 men to meet the rebels, followed by the

Earl of Warwick with a larger force. The Earl of Cumberland and Lord Scrope were holding Carlisle, Sir Henry Percy and Sir John Forster were in command of Berwick and the East Marches, and Sir George Bowes was raising troops on the queen's side in the Bishopric of Durham.

Many of the gentry supported the queen's cause who had scant sympathy with the religion she had established, actuated no doubt by motives of ordinary prudence, for not a few of them must have recognised the rashness of the scheme of the two earls. But their known attachment to the ancient faith appears to have affected Sir Ralph Sadler with many misgivings: "though their persons be here with us," he writes, "I assure you their harts for the most part be with the rebells . . . if the father be on this syde, the soon is on the other; and one brother with us, and the other with the rebells."¹

But if some who joined Sussex were but half-hearted adherents, their lukewarmness was surpassed by the indecision and want of generalship displayed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. Instead of maintaining their hold of Hartlepool, as was feared by both Sadler and Cecil, they allowed it to be retaken and garrisoned for the queen. The news of the approach of Sussex and his troops seems to have struck a panic into them, and they retreated from their position at Wetherby in the direction of Raby. Their forces then were numerically superior to those of Sussex,

¹ "State Papers and Letters," ii. p. 55.

but by their irresolution they threw away their only chance of success, and all the subsequent history of the campaign is a record of disastrous failure.

After retiring from Wetherby they laid siege to Barnard Castle, which was held by Sir George Bowes. Want of provisions obliged him to surrender, but the rebels profited little by this apparent advantage. Sussex was advancing in their rear, and on hearing that his forces had reached Northallerton the insurgents lost heart and dispersed in all directions. The earls fled into Scotland. Lord Westmoreland found an asylum with Ker of Farnihurst, and afterwards took refuge in Flanders and entered the service of the King of Spain. He died in extreme old age in 1600, having become indebted for the very means of subsistence to the precarious bounty of a foreign court. The miserable failure of his attempt to overthrow his sovereign's power resulted in the utter ruin of the great house of Neville. The Earl of Northumberland was betrayed and sold to the Regent Murray. He was eventually taken to York, where, without any form of trial, the attainder being regarded as sufficient, he was beheaded in an open space called the Pavement in that city on the 22nd August, 1572. His head was set on Mickle-gate Bar, and his body buried in St. Crux Church, which adjoins the place of his execution.¹

Richard Norton, the patriarchal standard-bearer of the rebel host, escaped to Flanders with two of his

¹ The Earl was succeeded in his honours by his brother, Sir Henry Percy, who, during the rebellion, was active on the queen's side.

sons. His estates were at once confiscated. From a letter of the Duke of Alva to the King of Spain (14th Feb., 1570), it appears that he had granted pensions to them. His son Christopher suffered at Tyburn in company with his uncle, Thomas. The others were imprisoned for some time, but eventually liberated, having probably compounded for their lives by a money payment. The queen did not suffer her desire of vengeance to overbear her frugal instincts. The directions given by the Earl of Sussex to Sir George Bowes as to the number of rebels to be executed in North Yorkshire contains this special proviso:—"Amongst whom you maye not execute eny that hathe freholds or noted welthye; for so is the Quene's Majestie's plesier, by her specyall comandement."¹ But upon those "of the meaner sorte," as they are called in one of the letters, the hand of punishment fell heavily. The return of those who had joined the rebels in Richmond and Richmondshire amounted to 1,241, of whom 231 were executed. This is exclusive of 300 who suffered in the Bishopric of Durham, neither does it include many who were executed in other parts of North Yorkshire. The lists of the latter are imperfect. Her Majesty was determined, it is obvious, to strike hard, and to render any future revolt against her government all but impossible. It was a stern and ruthless policy, but it was successful. No other rising disturbed the peace of her reign.

The see of York had at this time been vacant

¹ Sir Cuthbert Sharp's "Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569," p. 144.

about two years by the death of Archbishop Young. He had left no mark upon the diocese of a spiritual or political character. He was chiefly remarkable for the enrichment of his family out of the estates of the best prebendal stalls, and for his wanton destruction of a venerable remnant of antiquity,—the great hall of the palace at Bishopthorpe, built by Archbishop Thomas I. in the eleventh century. His object, says Harington, was *plumbi sacra fames*,—the gain to be derived from the sale of the lead which covered its roof.

The queen was well aware of the hold which the Church of Rome maintained upon the affections of the great majority of the inhabitants of the northern diocese, and she resolved upon sending as Young's successor a determined opponent of the doctrines and ritual of that Church. The action taken by the pope at this time tended, doubtless, to strengthen such a resolution. It was believed at Rome that if all who sympathised at heart with the insurrection of the two earls in 1569 had rallied in force around their standard, victory might have crowned their efforts ; and with a view, probably, of weakening Elizabeth's hold upon the loyalty of her subjects, Pius V. published, in March, 1570, a bull of excommunication and deposition, forbidding her people to obey her on pain of being themselves excommunicated.

The prelate whom her majesty sent to York was Edmund Grindal, a learned, conscientious, and pious man, but strongly imbued with Puritan views. He was translated from London in June, 1570. He had been one of the Commissioners in 1558 for the

revision of the Prayer-book, and his appointment to York was strongly urged, through Cecil, by Matthew Hutton, the Dean of that church.

The new Archbishop at once held a visitation of his diocese, having previously issued a lengthy series of articles of inquiry, sixty-five in number, to be answered by the churchwardens, with especial reference to the services and fittings of the churches. The injunctions he subsequently gave, both to clergy and laity, are very explicit, and show very plainly his strong anti-Roman spirit. All altars were to be "utterly taken downe even unto the foundation," and the altar-stones broken and defaced. Rood-lofts shared the same fate. The churchwardens and minister of each parish have stringent orders given them that "antiphoners, masse-bookes, grayles, portesses, processionals, manualls, legendaries, &c., which served for the superstitious Latine service, be utterly defaced, rent, and abolished." He enjoins a similar destruction of all vestments, albs, tunicles, and stoles, as well as of paxes, censers, crosses, candlesticks, holy-water vessels, images, and other "monuments of superstition and idolatry," and he follows it up by a special query as to whether a cope is worn by the minister, and whether he uses at the Holy Communion "any chalice heretofore used at masse." When we read these injunctions it is not difficult to account for the extreme scarcity of copies of service-books according to the "Use of York."

How Grindal reconciled his destruction of vestments, albs, and tunicles, and his practical abolition of their use, with the "Ornaments rubric" which

had been deliberately reinstated in the Book of Common-prayer, one rather fails to see. He does not, indeed, in so many words *forbid* the use of a cope or vestment, but the surplice is the only vesture the wearing of which he prescribes. The truth is that, in common with most of Elizabeth's bishops, his sympathies were with the Puritans, and he was bent upon using all his power as Ordinary to eliminate every gesture, every custom, every outward semblance, even in trifling matters, of conformity to usages of the olden time. The "Ornaments rubric," which, as heretofore mentioned, the queen insisted upon having re-introduced into the Prayer-book, was very unpalatable to the reformers, and it is curious to note the special pleading employed to reconcile themselves to it. Sandys (afterwards Grindal's successor) writes to Parker :—"Our gloss upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the queen." If a "gloss" like this had been put upon any rubric by the opposite party, it would assuredly have been characterised as disingenuous and Jesuitical, or designated by any other opprobrious epithet that most readily suggested itself.

The Archbishop gives a sort of grudging permission that where the churches are very small the minister might say the Morning and Evening office "in his accustomed stall in the queere;" but in all other cases "a decent low pulpit was to be erected and made in the body of the church out of hande, wherein the minister shall stande with his

face towards the people, when he readeth Morning and Evening Prayer."

The aggregation of the three services of Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion was due to Grindal. He directed that there was to be "no pause or stay" between these services, which were all to be said continuously.

Some curious glimpses are afforded of customs which then prevailed. Fairs and markets were apparently held on Sundays and holy-days. The practice was not absolutely forbidden, but he orders that no wares were to be shown or sold until Morning Service and sermon were over. No "guisers," or lords of misrule, were to be allowed to come into the church or churchyard to dance or play any unseemly part. No corpse was to be rested at the foot of the town or village cross on its way to the church for interment. Parish-clerks were required to be able to read the first lesson, the psalms, and the epistle, and also the answers to the suffrages, according to accustomed use.

A visitation was also held of the Dean and Chapter of York, and a series of injunctions issued to that body. They bear date 10th Oct., 1572, and, for the most part, follow the lines of those given by his predecessor Holgate. The Archbishop makes the reception of Holy Communion obligatory upon all the members of the church of York on certain days specified, viz., All Saints', Christmas-day, Epiphany, Purification, Easter-day, and Pentecost, and on the first Sunday of each month wherein none of these festivals occur. But although these days are of obli-

gation, so to speak, he allows of a celebration of Holy Communion on any other Sunday or Holy-day, "as to the good disposition of the governors and ministers of the saide church shall seame expedient." He gives a revised list of the preaching turns of the dignitaries and prebendaries of the church, and directs a review of their ancient statutes by the Dean, the Precentor, the Chancellor, and three of the Canons, whose names he specifies; so that those which are "not necessarye, superstitious, or unprofitable," may be expunged. The statutes, as revised by this committee, were to be confirmed by his archiepiscopal authority, and publicly read in chapter four times in the year. There is nothing, however, to show that these revised statutes were ever framed.

The policy on which Grindal acted in the government of his diocese is obvious enough, namely, to draw as definite a line of demarcation as possible between the principles on which he acted and the practices which he approved, and those which had any affinity to the Church of Rome. He could recognize no *tertium quid*. There was no party then in the Church of what we should now call a high church type. There were no indications at that time of the existence of such a school of thought. At the period when Grindal commenced his work in the diocese, those of his clergy who conformed to Elizabeth's book, and accepted the vestments prescribed by it, were probably all, at heart, favourers of the Old Religion, looking forward with some vague and undefined hope to its eventual re-instatement. Against ecclesiastics of this sort his injunctions were directed.

Those who sympathised with their diocesan were diametrically opposed to such men, and with their own good will would have abandoned the use of the surplice itself, if such a contravention of the Act of Uniformity could have been openly tolerated. The publication of the Bull of Pope Pius was deeply resented by all the reforming party. They regarded it as a deliberate insult to their sovereign, and as loyal subjects were determined to make their separation from the Church of Rome as definite and complete as possible. In this they were upheld by all the bishops without exception, and by none more strongly than Grindal. We may unhesitatingly date the commencement of Yorkshire Puritanism from his episcopate.

The publication of the Bull was speedily followed by the passing of a statute forbidding the recognition of any Bull or other instrument obtained from the Bishop of Rome, or any person claiming to act under his authority. Offenders against this enactment were to be deemed guilty of high treason, to suffer death as traitors, and to forfeit all their possessions to the queen.

Other things at this time evoked strong antagonistic feelings on the part of the queen and her advisers against the adherents of the Church of Rome. One was the repugnance which they exhibited to compulsory attendance at the services laid down in the book of Common Prayer. The other was the establishment of a college at Douay by William Allen, afterwards Cardinal, for the reception of English students to be trained for the priesthood, with a special view

to the exercise of their ministry in their own country. It began at first upon a small scale, but the numbers increased rapidly after a time, and it appears from the registers that 100 priests had been sent to the English mission by the middle of 1580.

It was no unworthy motive, from his standpoint, which led William Allen to encourage English students to resort to Douay. There appears no reason to suppose that he had then, at any rate, any ulterior views with regard to subverting the government of Elizabeth. But he knew that numerically those who clung to the ancient faith were in a majority, especially in the north of England, and he knew also how systematically any freedom in the exercise of their religion was kept down by the strong hand of power. As years went on the old priests were dropping off, and the bishops of Mary's time who survived were under restrictions which quite put it out of their power to keep up the priesthood in England by conferring orders. In the natural course of things, therefore, religion, as Allen understood the term, would disappear. To obviate this was his design. But his project and its result did not escape the watchful eyes of the queen and her counsellors. They could not dissociate it from political machinations, which they believed to be connected with it. The fear of a movement in favour of Mary, Queen of Scots, the *odium theologicum* against all that belonged to Rome on the part of the Puritan faction, and, above all, the detestation that had been aroused in the popular mind a very few years before by the atrocious massacre of the Huguenots at Paris on

St. Bartholomew's Day, all combined¹ to determine the government to propose enactments against the Roman Catholics of still greater severity than those which were already on the statute book.

The first thought of taking the life of the Queen of Scots seems to have sprung out of the panic caused by the Bartholomew massacre. Sandys, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of York, writes on the 5th September, 1572, to Lord Burleigh, offering certain suggestions as to what he deemed needful to ensure the safety of the queen and the realm. The first was "furthwith to cutte of the Scottish Quene's heade: *ipsa est fundi nostri calamitas*." Others follow, all directed against the Romanists:—"the chiefe Papistes of this realme to be shutte uppe in the Tower, and the popishe olde bushoppes returned thither," and as the climax of the whole, the Protestants, who, he says, are the only faithful servants her majesty has, "are to be comforted, preferred, and placed in autoritie, the Papistes to be displaced."¹

A new penal statute was passed in 1581. It was severe in the extreme. It was made high treason to withdraw any of her majesty's subjects from the religion established by her authority to the religion of Rome. It was even high treason if any one embraced the latter of his own free will, without any external persuasion or allurement. Aiding such an act, or concealing their knowledge of it for more than twenty days, made persons liable to be punished for misprision of treason. Any priest saying mass was to forfeit 200

¹ Ellis' "Original Letters" (2nd series), iii. p. 25.

marks, and be imprisoned for a year, and subsequently for an indefinite period, if his fine remained unpaid. Any lay person willingly hearing mass was to pay a fine of 100 marks, in addition to a year's imprisonment. Every one above the age of 16 who failed to attend the worship of the Church of England as established by law, was fined £20 for every month's absence from it. One-third of the forfeitures went to the queen, one-third to the poor of the parish, and one-third to the informer. If they remained unpaid, the delinquent was imprisoned until he either paid or conformed.

Another act was passed in 1585, directed against all Jesuits, seminary priests, and others who had received their orders in the Church of Rome. All such were at once to leave England, and such as remained were to be regarded as traitors and suffer accordingly. No person was to receive, relieve, or maintain them, and those who did so were to be treated as felons, and suffer death and forfeiture as in cases of felony. Any one who was aware of any priest being within the queen's dominions, and failed to report it to the nearest magistrate, might be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure; and if the magistrate neglected to make it known to the President of the North or of the Marshes of Wales, as the case might be, he was to forfeit 200 marks.

A further statute was passed in 1593, "for the restraining of popish recusants" to some fixed abode. If they went more than five miles from their dwellings they were to forfeit their goods, chattels, and lands. Non-compliance was treated as felony. Any

one suspected to be a Jesuit or a priest, who refused to give a direct answer when questioned on the subject, was to be imprisoned without bail until he made up his mind to make a definite reply.

The persecution—for it deserves no milder appellation—which the working of these statutes involved, cannot be characterised as anything but a religious persecution. The provisions of the act of 1581 make no mention of any treasonable designs against the queen's person or government. It was their religion which Elizabeth was determined to root out, and however little the Puritans loved the book of Common-prayer, they were ready enough to support any enactments which tended to obliterate a form of worship which they hated with yet greater intensity. Toleration for the Romanist there was none. There is not a vestige of any recognition of freedom of thought or liberty of conscience. And the way in which these penal statutes were carried out during the remainder of her reign must ever remain as a stain and a blot upon its history, whatever extenuation may be alleged in the shape of political necessity or expediency. The Romanists estimated the number of those whose hearts were with the Old Religion throughout the country as amounting to two-thirds of the population.¹ It is probable that their calculations were not far from the truth. It is utterly unlikely that all, or even a majority of these people, had any idea of repudiating Elizabeth as their sovereign, or refusing their allegiance ; and

¹ See Card. Allen's "Answer to the Libel of English Justice," p. 171.

Cardinal Allen distinctly denies that any questions as to depriving or excommunicating princes formed a part of the syllabus of instruction at Douay, "no, not so much as in generalities, and much less the particularising of any point in our queen's case."¹ It is observable also that all the unfortunate sufferers, of whose words at the supreme moment of their existence any record remains, protested their loyalty to the queen's person. Whatever view we may take of the religion they professed, it were ungenerous to the last degree to suppose that they all died with a lie in their mouths.

The statute of 1581 was soon acted upon. The first who suffered was Cuthbert Maine. From the catalogue contained in Chaloner's "Memoirs of Missionary Priests, &c.," it appears that 188 altogether were put to death in Elizabeth's reign. Of these, 41 were executed at York. It is a large proportion to be furnished by one county, wide though its area is. Of these, 26 were in holy orders, the remaining 15 being lay persons, one of whom was a female. This disproves the statement made by some writers that none except priests were executed in Elizabeth's reign. Giving shelter and sustenance to priests, as they went to and fro to minister the rites of religion to the scattered members of their Church, was usually the sole offence of which these lay persons could be proved guilty. The only privilege they had was that they were simply hanged. Their offence was only felony. They had not to endure the ghastly and

¹ See Card. Allen's "Answer to the Libel of English Justice," p. 64.

appalling barbarities inflicted upon the priests, whose crime was adjudged to be treason. Amongst the lay persons who suffered, the account of none is so piteous as that of Mrs. Clithero, a gentlewoman of good Yorkshire descent. She was charged with relieving priests, and refused to plead, that others might not be brought into peril of their lives by her conviction. Under the brutal law then in force in such cases she was pressed to death, a fate which she endured with wondrous constancy and patience.

But the number on whom death was inflicted by no means exhausts the list of sufferers. Forty are recorded by Chaloner as having died in prison; in almost every case the result of disease occasioned by the filthy and abominable state of the dungeons in which they were confined: "Some of which," says Canon Raine, "had no light and no ventilation; several were partly under water whenever there was a flood."¹

It may easily be imagined that there was a fearful amount of suffering endured by those who escaped the hangman's cord and the butcher's knife. Torture was not unfrequently applied; the rack and the scourge added their horrors to the misery of the prison-house, to say nothing of the spoiling of their goods and possessions and the enormous fines imposed upon them.

The descent of the Armada upon the coasts of England intensified the feeling of the queen and her advisers against the unhappy Romanists; although

¹ "Depositions from York Castle" (Pub. Surtees Soc.), Pref., p. xxxii.

“Hallam points out how in every county they rallied to the standard of the lord-lieutenant, imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence even for their religion itself; and then he adds, with a justice that must come home to every unprejudiced mind, ‘It would have been a sign of gratitude if the laws depriving them of the free exercise of their religion had been, if not repealed, yet allowed to sleep, after these proofs of loyalty. But the execution of priests and of other Catholics became, on the contrary, more frequent, and the fines for recusancy were exacted as rigorously as before.’ This is indeed only too true, for in the last six months of 1588 the number of martyrs for their religion amounts at least to thirty-one, of whom twenty-one were priests.”¹

Towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign (1599) another mode of dealing with them was tried at York. It was almost grotesque in its simplicity. Lord Burleigh, who was then Lord President of the North, ordered the prisoners in York Castle, fifty-three in number, to be brought into the Castle hall once a week to hear a sermon. The Archbishop himself preached, as well as some of the higher ecclesiastics of the diocese. As might have been expected, their eloquence, however admirable, their arguments, however cogent, bore no fruit. The prisoners remonstrated, but in vain. Then they stopped their ears, which roused the lord president’s wrath in no small degree, and he abused them in no measured terms,

¹ “Church Quarterly Rev.,” viii. p. 120.

calling them swine and hogs for despising the Word of God, and threatened them with heavy punishment for their insolence. It is even said that some of them, and many were men of birth and education, were gagged to stop their expressions of dissent from what they heard : "no very likely method," as Dr. Whitaker observes, "to predispose men's minds for the reception of the truth."¹

Fifty sermons in all were they compelled to listen to. At the end of the last they were told that it was my lord's pleasure the sermons should cease till the spring, an intimation which they probably received with no little satisfaction. We do not find that the preaching was ever resumed.

¹ "Loidis and Elmete," p. 26.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EVERY reader of English history is aware of the perplexities and troubles which the turbulent and unreasonable demands of the Puritans brought upon Elizabeth during many years of her reign. At first there was no formed intention of separating themselves from the Church of which they professed to be members. What they wanted was to carry out the reformation of that Church further and further, in conformity with German and Genevan discipline. Dissent may be said to date from about 1566, but it did not assume anything like a definitely organised form until 1580, when the sect called Brownists arose, who were the first actual Separatists. In 1593 the offence given by the Mar-prelate publications occasioned the passing of a severe statute against Non-conformity. But concerned as we are with the diocese of York only, a passing notice of it may be sufficient, since, as we have seen, the religious difficulties with which her majesty had to deal in Yorkshire were exclusively connected with the recusancy of the Roman Catholics.

One result, however, of the Puritan controversies of this period must not be left unnoticed. They gave rise to the great work of one whose learning, whose calm dispassionate wisdom, and irreproachable life shed a lustre over the reformed Church of England,

which remains undimmed after the lapse of three long centuries. The "Ecclesiastical Polity" of Richard Hooker is a text-book still. It is the book, of all others, which placed the reformed Church of England on her true footing, as a witness against the meagreness and narrowness of the Separatists and the extravagant claims of the Church of Rome. English theology underwent a gradual but decisive change in the hands of Hooker. "The results of his publications were great and presently perceptible. A school of writers immediately sprung up, who by express reference, or style, or tone of thought, betray their admiration of Hooker; Covel, Edwin Sandys, Field, Raleigh, and others; and what was infinitely more important, Hooker had his full share in training up for the next generation Laud, Hammond, Sanderson, and a multitude more such divines: to which succession and series, humanly speaking, we owe it that the Anglican Church continues at such a distance from that of Geneva, and so near to primitive truth and apostolical order."¹

A few words must now be said concerning the occupants of the archiepiscopal chair of York who owed their elevation to Queen Elizabeth. Young and Grindal have already been mentioned. When the latter was translated to Canterbury after the death of Parker, Sandys, Bishop of London, became his successor. He was enthroned by proxy on the 13th March, 1577. The new Archbishop had been, as we know, one of the refugees in Mary's reign, and

¹ Preface to Keble's Hooker, p. civ.

retained a sufficient amount of sympathy with the foreign reformers, but not to the same extent as his immediate predecessor in the see of York. His first care was to make a general visitation of his Province. In the course of this he attempted to revive the old claim of the Northern Primate to exercise metropolitan authority at Durham. But he was stoutly resisted by Whittingham who was then its Dean. His resistance was met by the allegation that he was disqualified for his position, for it was said that he had been "made minister by a few mean men and lay persons in a private house at Geneva." Certain it was that he had never received episcopal ordination, which was strongly objected against him by the Archbishop. Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the matter. Matthew Hutton, who was then Dean of York, boldly defended Whittingham's ordination, and averred that in his judgment "he was in better sort ordained than our ministers in England, and that his ministry was much better than the Archbishop's." Sandys would fain have deprived Whittingham of his deanery, but Lord Huntingdon (then Lord President) and Dean Hutton were strongly averse from such a proceeding, chiefly on the ground that it would lower the Church of England in the estimation of foreign reformers to have their orders thus discredited.

The Dean of York and the Archbishop thus came at once into collision, and the result was a series of thirteen Articles directed by the latter against the refractory head of the capitular body. He was charged with refusing to assist the Archbishop in the govern-

ment of the Province, and openly thwarting him in the High Commission Court, saying "that he needed neither the favour of the Archbishop nor yet the lord president, and therefore he would join with neither of them." The articles also threw out more than a hint that the Dean practised usury,—in other words, money-lending upon interest,—a practice which the Archbishop conceived to be unscriptural and tried to put down. There were other charges of more trifling character. One was really more a credit than a disgrace to him, for it accused him of favouring recusants and giving several of them notice when processes were about to be issued against them. No one could imagine that his religious sympathies were in the smallest degree in accord with theirs. It was simply an act of kindly and Christian charity, all the more striking from its being, perhaps, the one solitary instance recorded at that time of its exercise by a high ecclesiastical dignitary, of strong Puritan views, on behalf of the persecuted adherents of the old religion. The Dean was obliged to make a formal submission to the Archbishop, but the inflexible independence of his character was in no wise altered, nor his manly and straightforward expression of opinion in any degree affected thereby. Whittingham's death put an end to the discussion of his case, and it was never finally adjudicated upon.

The "prophesyings" which Grindal much encouraged, and which eventually brought him into such disfavour with the queen, were countenanced to some extent by Archbishop Sandys. They were apparently very innocent proceedings, consisting in

the assembling of the clergy of a neighbourhood at each other's houses, for devotional exercises and the discussion of difficult or controverted passages of Scripture. Something of this sort seems to have been in use at the archidiaconal visitations in the York diocese, with the sanction of the Archbishop.

Archbishop Sandys died at Southwell on the 10th July, 1588. He left behind him the reputation of great learning and piety. "He was," says Fuller, "an excellent and painful preacher, of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age; so that by a great and good stride, whilst he had one foot in the grave he had the other in heaven. He was buried in Southwell. It is hard to say whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity."

Piers, bishop of Salisbury, was his successor, who was enthroned in February, 1588-9, and occupied the episcopal chair until his death in 1594. He is said to have been a master of all kinds of learning, primitive and austere in his personal habits, and so liberal in his charities that he left scarcely enough behind him to pay for the erection of a monument to his memory. In one respect he formed an honourable exception to many of the prelates, not only of his own time, but of other periods also,—for it is recorded of him that he leased nothing from the church, nor hurt its revenues.

Matthew Hutton, who, as Dean of York, was such a thorn in the side of Archbishop Sandys, became Bishop of Durham, at the particular request of Lord Burleigh, in 1589. On the death of Archbishop Piers,

he was translated to York, in 1595. In the following year, on the death of the Earl of Huntingdon, he was appointed Lord President of the Council of the North.

"Those who have written least favourably of Hutton's character," says Surtees, "allow him the credit of strong talent, sound learning, and a manly and persuasive eloquence. His ungovernable violence of temper, which has been recorded on more than one occasion, has given some writers room to impute to his whole character a shade of sour and puritanic asperity. Yet the author of the beautiful and pathetic letters in favour of Lady Margaret Neville¹ can scarce be accused of want of feeling. It is not always easy to define the exact bounds between human virtues and human frailties: and if a strong consciousness of talent, and a reliance on his own powers, sometimes broke forth into asperity and violence, Hutton's conduct on other occasions is equally stamped with an honourable independence of sentiment which was by no means general in his age or profession. That prelate was no sycophant who durst preach before a court on the instability of kingdoms and the change of dynasties, and durst ring in Elizabeth's ear the funereal knell of a successor."²

The "funereal knell" which Archbishop Hutton sounded in Elizabeth's ear was prophetic. The great Queen passed away on the 24th March, 1603.

¹ Daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland, whose part in the Rebellion of 1569 was the ruin of himself, his family, and the great house of Neville.

² Surtees' "Hist. Durham," i. p. lxxxiv.

The accession of James VI. of Scotland was at once proclaimed. No opposition was offered either by the Romanist or Puritan party. The latter had great hopes that the new sovereign would be on their side. The former welcomed him with a petition for toleration. The latter presented what was called the Millenary Petition, praying for the redress of what they deemed abuses in the service-book and ceremonial of the Church of England. Of this the Hampton Court conference was the result. The issue of it was a Royal Proclamation, declaring the exceptions taken by the Puritans to be of little weight,—though a few trifling concessions were made,—and requiring all his subjects to conform to the Liturgy of the Church as established by law in the realm.

James had not been long on the throne before we find him remedying to some extent the mischief which had been wrought at Ripon by Edward VI.'s act for the dissolution of collegiate foundations and chantries. The possessions belonging to the church of Ripon were leased out by the crown, a wretched pittance being reserved for the minister who conducted the parochial services. Archbishop Sandys, supported by Lord Burleigh, endeavoured to procure from Elizabeth an endowment suitable to an extensive and populous parish. Promises, which were never fulfilled, were all that he obtained. In 1596 a project was mooted for the foundation of an Ecclesiastical College at Ripon. Many eminent persons, including men like Dean Nowell, Hooker, and others of similar position, took much interest in the scheme, but it was never carried into effect. The spiritual needs of

the great parish of Ripon were, however, brought before James' notice, and the result was that on the 2nd August, 1604, his majesty constituted the lately-dissolved college of secular canons a collegiate church, to consist of a dean and six prebendaries, with a grant for their maintenance of a considerable portion of the possessions of the old foundation.

In the same year (1604) the Book of Canons was passed by both Houses of Convocation, and ratified by the king. This was the work of Bancroft, who was then Bishop of London. It is a condensation of various articles, injunctions, and synodical acts promulgated in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. The Book of Canons was made binding upon York, although the Northern Convocation had not been consulted. This gave considerable umbrage to the clergy of the northern province, and they preferred a claim to make canons for themselves. This having been conceded, they at once adopted the canons as passed by the Southern Convocation.

The most obnoxious part of the book to the Puritan party was the stringent requirement of subscription, *ex animo*, to the three articles contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon. Refusal was punished by deprivation under the provisions of the statute of 1 Elizabeth. Many ministers went into voluntary exile, and others became avowed Nonconformists.

Shortly after the passing of the Book of Canons, Bancroft was translated to Canterbury in succession to Whitgift, who had died on the 29th February, 1603-4.

On the 16th January, 1605, York became vacant

by the death of Archbishop Hutton, who left a large landed estate behind him. "I neither praise nor envy an episcopal fortune," is Surtees' remark: "Hutton, however, only succeeded in that which most of his contemporaries tried to effect; his son, Timothy Hutton, served the office of sheriff of Yorkshire in 1607; and the family of Hutton, of Marske, have ever since ranked with the first gentry of the North Riding."¹

Another Bishop of Durham succeeded to the primacy of York. Bishop Toby Mathew was appointed in July, 1606. He was an able controversialist, and one of the most eloquent preachers of his day, and in private life was singularly beloved for his steady friendship, his great liberality, and his remarkably genial temperament—the "cheerful sharpness of wit," as Sir John Harington expresses it, "that so sauced his words and behaviour." Both Fuller and Sir John have preserved several of his jests, for he was always

Spargens sales cum cachinno,
Lepido ore et concinno.

The record of one may be allowed here in connection with his elevation to York:—he said it was *for lack of grace*, for, according to a homely northern proverb, York has the higher rack, but Durham the deeper manger.

The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 excited the fears and inflamed the prejudices alike of the king, his council, and the people generally against the Roman Catholics. It occasioned the imposition

¹ Surtees' "Hist. of Durham," i. p. lxxxiv.

of the oath of allegiance to the king as a temporal sovereign, which was required to be taken by all his subjects. Blackwell, the archpriest, and several others submitted to the oath, but a brief was soon issued by Paul V. forbidding it to be taken. Great severity in the treatment of the Romanists followed. Upwards of fifty were imprisoned at York for refusing the oath, and of these forty died of their sufferings in prison. The "Notes of a Prisoner" tell us that "some were pressed by extreme hunger, others were forced to lie on the ground in prison until their putrid flesh adhered to their clothes."¹ Three laymen and two priests were executed at York during James's reign.

The adherents of the ancient faith lived at this time under the strictest surveillance. Lists of recusants were carefully compiled and returns made to the authorities. The record of those in the county of York, taken from the original MS. in the Bodleian, was published by Mr. Peacock some years ago. It shows, as he observes in his preface, "that the inquisitorial proceedings of the Government officials were not confined, as so many fancy them to have been, to persons who, from their high position, had it in their power factiously to oppose the Government in Church and State, but that poor farm-labourers, servant-maids, tailors, and fishermen, were, as much as their social superiors, the objects of strict scrutiny."²

¹ "Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers" (3rd series), p. 329.

² "List of the Rom. Cath. in the co. of York in 1604" (ed. by Edw. Peacock, F.S.A. Lond. 1872). Pref., p. vii.

Archbishop Mathew dealt kindly with those of his clergy who held Puritan views. He is said to have encouraged those who were active promoters of the exercises, as they were then called—a species of lectures which, in the hands of judicious men, need scarcely have excited the jealousy which they did.

Amongst the clergy who occupied prominent positions in the diocese during his episcopate a name occurs which cannot be passed over without notice. It is the well-known name of John Cosin. He became archdeacon of the East Riding in 1625, and his Visitation Articles, issued in 1627, are worth noting as illustrating the state of the clergy of that period. "Lax habits of life must have been far from uncommon. Many must have ministered without having had episcopal ordination. . . . The particularity of the query as to the *daily* saying of the service by the clergy is noteworthy. . . . Other queries throw light upon prevailing irregularities, as, for example, those which note the slovenly habit, apparently not infrequent, of omitting nearly the whole of the opening exhortation, and the license, which seems to have been not unusually taken by some, of exercising their individual discretion as to what Psalms and Lessons should be used. To these may be added the stringent questions which are put as to the *constant* use of the surplice. It is matter of special inquiry whether it is used at the Holy Communion by the celebrant, and by the minister assisting him, and likewise whether it is worn at weddings and funerals."¹

¹ "Cosin Correspondence," Introd., pp. xviii. xix. See also pp. 106, *et seq.* (Pub. Surtees Soc.)

Associated as Cosin's name is with what in modern days is known as "advanced ritual," it is certainly noteworthy that there is not the faintest attempt in these Visitation Articles to enforce the observance of the rubric, so persistently retained by Queen Elizabeth, which seems to make the use of vestments, other than the surplice, more than permissive at the celebration of the Holy Communion.

Archbishop Mathew died at Cawood on the 29th March, 1628, and was buried in York Minster.

Charles I. was now on the throne, having succeeded his father in 1625. The prelate whom he selected as successor to Archbishop Mathew was George Montaigne, who was likewise translated from Durham. He had previously occupied the episcopal chairs of Lincoln and London. His archiepiscopate was a singularly brief one. He was elected on the 6th June, 1628, enthroned on the 24th October following, and died on the 6th November in the same year.

Montaigne was succeeded by Harsnett, probably at the instance of Laud, whose influence with Charles, as regarded Church matters, was already great. Harsnett was a man of very considerable learning and ability, and unquestionably took the same line as Laud, both in doctrine and ceremonial, and like him was disposed, apparently, to root out Puritanism from his diocese by the strong hand of power. His feelings as regarded the ministers who held and taught Puritan doctrine were certainly the reverse of charitable. He writes to Lord President Conway that "the Church is infested with the men of Dan and

Bethel, whose hearts are over seas,¹ and he wishes that their hearts and bodies were confined together.”²

The days were now gone by when the northern province was governed by prelates who sympathised, less or more, with the Puritan portion of the clergy. Harsnett did not live long enough to do much as regarded the diocese of York, in the way of purging it of “the men of Dan and Bethel,” for he died 25th May, 1631.

But he was succeeded by one who carried out Laud’s policy with great determination and no little intolerance. Neile, who had held five bishoprics in succession, was translated from Winchester to York soon after Archbishop Harsnett’s death.

Puritanism had by this time gained a considerable hold over certain classes in Yorkshire. Many Roman Catholics, no doubt, still existed, but in places like Leeds and Hull, and amongst such of the gentry as had accepted the Reformation, the predominant form which their religion assumed was undoubtedly of a Puritan type.

They must have been greatly exercised by much which they saw and heard during Neile’s episcopate. A few instances may be briefly recorded. A new church had been built at Leeds by a Mr. John Harrison, a native of that town. It was consecrated by the Archbishop on the 21st September, 1634. The sermon on the occasion was preached by Cosin.

¹ This is an allusion to the voluntary exile into which many of the Puritan ministers went, rather than submit to subscription to the Three Articles.

² S. P. Dom. Charles I., cl. 28.

Todd, the incumbent of the new church, preached in the afternoon, but as in the case of Hooker and Travers at the Temple, "the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, and the afternoon Geneva." The Archbishop was furious. He considered Mr. Todd's sermon a direct attack upon the morning preacher, an affront to his diocesan and to the discipline of the Church of England, and he suspended the luckless incumbent at once, on the very day of the commencement of his ministrations in the new church.

Constant communications passed between Neile and Laud on subjects relating to the diocese of York, and the difficulties which from time to time presented themselves to its ruler. Amongst these, about the year 1636, were certain embarrassments connected with some foreign settlers in Hatfield Chase, a wide tract of country in the south-eastern part of Yorkshire, between the Don and the Trent, which comprised a large extent of morass and fen, often more or less submerged when the waters of those rivers overflowed their banks. Cornelius Vermuyden, a native of the isle of Tholen, near the mouth of the Scheldt, who had been engaged in the draining of the great fens of Cambridgeshire, entered into a treaty with the Crown to reclaim the Chase and the low-lying district beyond it. Several of Vermuyden's countrymen were associated with him in his undertaking, the principal one being a Sir Philibert Vernatti, and they brought over a number of French and Flemish workmen to execute their works.

Neile complained bitterly of strangers being thus

brought into England, taking the bread out of the mouths of English subjects. Two hundred families, he tells Laud,¹ were already settled, and more daily expected to land at Hull and Harwich. But worse than that, they had set up for themselves the form and discipline of the French Protestant Church. They used Sir Philibert Vernatti's barn as their place of worship, whither the whole company resorted on Sundays, baptising in a dish, and administering the Sacrament after their homely manner of sitting. Their church affairs were under the government of a minister, three lay-elders, and three deacons. The barn was in Lincolnshire, just over the Yorkshire border, and they alleged that they had a license from Bishop Williams, of Lincoln, Laud's great rival. Sir Philibert was desirous, however, of having a regular chapel built for their use within the Yorkshire boundary, and applied to the Archbishop for his sanction. "Yes," was his grace's answer, "if you will all conform to the Church of England,—if not,—No." Neile encloses a letter he had received from their pastor, M. Bontemps, which set forth, very naturally, that as the greater number of the settlers were utterly ignorant of English, it was only fitting that they should be permitted to worship after their own form and in their own tongue, and that Vernatti had obtained a grant from the king, permitting them the free exercise of their religion. Notwithstanding this, Neile had the incredible folly to interdict them, and told Laud in one of his letters, with great

¹ S. P. Dom. Charles I., cccxxvii. 47.

complacency, that very many resorted to the churches of the parishes where they dwelt, and there behaved themselves very devoutly, even those who did not understand English !¹

In the end, however, he was circumvented. These settlers, who seem to have been a very harmless and industrious set of people, built themselves a chapel at Sandtoft, a central situation for the whole of the Levels, as the reclaimed land is called. It was in the diocese of Lincoln, where Neile's interdict was inoperative. But a small colony soon acquires the language of the country in which they have made their home, and the appointment of a M. de Vaneley, in 1681, as minister of the chapel, is the last of which we read.² The building soon afterwards fell into decay, and no trace of it now remains.

Charles I. seems to have taken great personal interest in all matters relating to the Church and her

¹ S. P. Dom. Charles I., cccxxxi, 71. The archbishop would be well assured of Laud's sympathy in the whole matter. The view of the latter was that the liberty granted by the Government was not intended to be continued to their children and posterity; and that indulgence to them as regarded the free exercise of their religion "makes an ill impression on the English, and confirms them in their stubbornness and non-conformity" (Collier, ii. 753).

² One of the ministers of the chapel at Sandtoft, John Conrad Werndly, who may probably be identified with M. de Vaneley, published in 1693 a translation of "*Liturgia Tigurina, or the Book of Common-prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, &c.*," as performed in the city and canton of Zurich. It probably contains the forms used by him at Sandtoft. When this little book was published he was minister of Wraisbury-cum-Langley, in Bucks.

discipline. Certificates of the state of the Northern Province were duly forwarded by Neile to the king, who evidently read them with great care, marginal notes, in his own hand, being frequently found in their pages. The Archbishop tells his majesty¹ that as regarded his declaration for settling questions in doctrine, a watchful eye is kept, if any fly out, to call them to account. The royal injunctions about catechising had brought many ministers to catechise as well as preach. With regard to the latter function, the rule is, "Either observe his majesty's directions in every particular, or have no sermon." He complains much of the negligence of churchwardens in not presenting those who come to sermons, but absent themselves from the public prayers. The royal declaration permitting recreations on Sundays after divine service is received with reluctance by a few ministers, but with a request for time to consider the matter more fully, and to read the book lately written by the Bishop of Ely, after the perusal of which they promise either to conform or to submit to censure.

One thing is noteworthy. He reports to the king that during the past year there had been £6,562. 15s. 7d. expended in the repairing and adorning of churches in the archdeaconries of York, East Riding, and Nottingham, and a large sum in that of Cleveland, of which he had not received exact particulars. He mentions also that when he visited Southwell he had taken order for a choir service there.

¹ S. P. Dom, Charles I. cccxii., 84.

From the reports sent in by the suffragan bishops of the province,¹ we gather that the clergy generally must have been of a very low stamp. The Bishop of Sodor and Man says that reading the service distinctly is as much as most of the Isle of Man clergy can do. They have had no opportunity of obtaining a learned education. They cannot preach, so he had ordered them to read the Homilies, and had required every parish to provide a copy. On St. John Baptist's day he found that gross superstitions were practised. What their nature was we are not informed, but he had forbidden them and ordered the services of the Church and sermons in their stead. Bishop Potter, of Carlisle, reports general conformity in his diocese, but states that the wretched stipends attached to most of the benefices oblige him to admit mean scholars to the diaconate, rather than allow the people to be utterly without divine service; and he complains much of the supineness of the churchwardens, who never present absentees from church, and of the magistrates, who never punish them. Bishop Morton, of Durham, says that he can hardly procure a sufficient number of competent ministers to lecture in the market towns. Bridgeman, the Bishop of Chester, gives the most satisfactory account. He had brought most of the churches in his diocese to a state of uniformity and decency, in which he had essential help from the laity, who had most cheerfully contributed many thousand pounds.

The king spent some time in York on several

¹ S. P. Dom. Charles I. cccxlv., 85.

occasions, and more than once "kept his Maunday" there. The ancient ceremonials were duly observed. Two bishops washed the feet of certain poor men in one of the aisles of the minster, whose number corresponded to the years of his majesty's age, and handed to them the royal gifts of bread, fish, clothing, and money. His majesty touched great numbers for the Evil at the same time.

In the course of one of his visits to York, he addressed a letter to the Dean and Chapter,¹ strongly animadverting upon their having allowed dwelling-houses to be erected in the closest proximity to the walls of the minster. One, indeed, had been actually built inside the church, in the transept, which he ordered at once to be taken down. No enclosed seat was to be permitted in the choir, except one on the north side, beyond the stalls, for the lord president's lady and her suite. "Other women of quality" were to be accommodated with moveable benches or chairs. His majesty also issued an order² commanding the attendance of the lord mayor, recorder, and aldermen of York, at the minster service on Sundays and holy-days, and that they should behave in accordance with the canons of the Church. They were forbidden to bring the ensigns of their authority within the walls of the minster, and were to manifest their conformity by receiving Holy Communion at certain solemn times every year.

The services of the minster seem to have been kept up at this time with considerable care. The

¹ S. P. Dom. Charles I., ccxxxix. 56.

² *Ibid.*, ccclxiii. 9.

journal of three Norwich gentlemen¹ who tarried at York in the course of a tour they were making through the northern counties, shows that they were much impressed by the sight of the minster on a Sunday and the rank and dignity of the congregation. They speak also of its sumptuous ornaments and vestments, rich communion cloths, and "coapes of embroider'd velvet, cloth of gold, silver, and tissue, of great worth and value." The king had about this time given £1,000 "for the makeing of an organ, and provision of other ornaments for the said church."

Charles was evidently always kept *au fait* by Archbishop Neile with the general state of the diocese, sometimes through Laud, sometimes by communications directly addressed to himself. On one occasion Neile writes a letter to his majesty,² telling him that he finds no inclination in his diocese to innovate in anything which concerns either the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; but adds the somewhat contradictory information that too many of his Majesty's subjects in Yorkshire have gone to New England,³ amongst whom was "one Rogers," who

¹ The original MS. is preserved amongst the Lansdowne MSS. 213. Plut., lxxiv., B. It was printed many years ago in a publication called the "Graphic Illustrator."

² S. P. Dom. Charles I., ccccxii. 45 (i).

³ The emigration had commenced in 1620, when the *Mayflower* conveyed the "Pilgrim Fathers," as they were subsequently called, to that far-off shore. They were driven to leave their native land by the enforcement of subscription to the "Three Articles," which has already been mentioned, and other galling and oppressive dealings with them.

had been incumbent of a living worth £240 per annum. For two years he had tried in vain to reclaim him, refusing to receive his resignation. But he had just received a letter from him, written on board ship, thanking his grace for the counsel he had given him, but telling him that his resignation must now be definitely accepted, for he was then actually commencing his voyage. The king's marginal note upon this communication is, "An honest man must be put in his place."

The Archbishop gave much umbrage to some of the country gentlemen by his refusal to consecrate their private chapels. Sir Henry Slingsby had made a request to that effect, partly, as it would seem, for the convenience of his large household, and partly because Mr. Thriscross, who had formerly been Archdeacon of Cleveland and Rector of Kirby Moorside—a very excellent, but somewhat scrupulous person—had declined to officiate there on the ground of its being unconsecrated. But Neile absolutely refused; "having," as he said, "express command not to consecrate any, least it may be occasion of conventicles."¹

Laud was, no doubt, the prompter of every move which his brother Archbishop made in the northern province. The latter was said to be *prædicator mirabilis*, but he was evidently a weak man, with no small amount of bigotry and intolerance. Laud was a man of far higher powers of intellect, but equally intolerant of opposition to his own cherished views

¹ "Diary of Sir Hen. Slingsby" (ed. D. Parsons, M.A., Lond., 1836), p. 19.

on ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline. Rigid conformity to rubric and canon, even to the minutest particular, was what both the primates longed to obtain in their respective provinces. "Unity," said Laud, "cannot long continue in the Church when Uniformity is shut out of the Church door." To establish the latter was their great ambition, but the stern application of the rod of discipline was their only *modus operandi*. They brought men into the High Commission Court and into the Bishops' Courts, they suspended and they excommunicated. That no small debt of gratitude is due to the great divines of the seventeenth century, of whom Laud was unquestionably one of the most prominent, though not the most lovable, is indubitable. To them we owe the preservation of a sounder system of theology and the maintenance of a more seemly ceremonial than sectarian narrowness and prejudice would have allowed to be perpetuated; but they inherited the evil traditions of the Tudor era as regarded their mode of working. They failed to see that "it is not the mother's learning, but the mother's love and tenderness which educate and nourish the child; so it is the love and pastoral care of the Church, and not her theology and learning, that will find their way home to the hearts of any religious community." They were too short-sighted, moreover, to recognise that a great middle class was day by day rising up around them into increased importance and prominence in the country, and exhibiting intellectual qualifications of no mean order,—a class which could not brook the arbitrary mode of action which was unhappily

adopted by so many who occupied the highest positions in the Church. It would be difficult indeed to estimate the number of individuals thus repelled and estranged, who, by gentler handling and the exercise of a wiser policy, might probably have been retained as members of the Church of England.

Neile even vindicated persecution, and that of the most cruel kind. We have it under his own hand. In a letter to Laud (August 23, 1639),¹ he speaks of the proceedings taken in the case of Legate, who was burnt for heretical opinions in James' reign;—"whose punishment, I am persuaded, did a great deal of good in this church:"—and he goes on to say, "I fear the present times do require like exemplary punishment, which I refer to your grave consideration."

When we find such sentiments uttered by a man holding one of the very highest positions in the Church of England, we can scarcely feel much surprise at the reaction which followed, or wonder greatly at a feeling being aroused which, within a few short years, resulted in the expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords, and the banishment of the clergy from their benefices.

Other causes combined, beyond question, to bring about the civil war which so soon ensued, and which ended in the subversion, for a time, of the Monarchy and the Church of this country; but the attitude so persistently maintained by the authorities of the latter, in their relations with the Puritans, can

¹ S. P. Dom. Charles I., ccccxvii. 78.

citadel or accede to his demands, and he was obliged to retire. Archbishop Williams had by this time taken up his abode at Cawood Castle, one of the residences attached to the see. Shortly after the king's abortive attempt to obtain possession of Hull, warning was given to the Archbishop, late one night, by Dr. Ferne, that the younger Hotham had laid plans for attacking the Castle, and had vowed to take his grace's life in revenge for the language he was said to have used with reference to his father and himself and the refusal of the former to admit the king within the gates of Hull. Cawood was not provisioned for a siege, it was in bad repair and altogether incapable of defence. The Archbishop thought discretion the better part of valour, hastily gathered some of his baggage together, and, guarded by a few horsemen, was out of the place before midnight. He fled into Wales, as to a temporary refuge, "until," as his biographer Hacket might have applied the words, "this tyranny were overpast." But he never saw his diocese more.¹ He died at Glothaeth, in Carnarvonshire, on the 25th March, 1650, and was buried at Llandegay, near Bangor.

To attempt any account of the great civil war which was now imminent, is beyond the province of this work, and would be inconsistent with its object and limits, although York, and the great county of which it is the capital, had no unimportant share in its history. Most of the great houses of Yorkshire's nobility and gentry, with a few exceptions, were on the side of the king. Many of the *moyen* gentry, especially those

¹ Hacket's "Life of Archbishop Williams," part ii. pp. 186, 187.

who had but recently taken rank, as it were, amongst the untitled aristocracy of the country, were with the Parliament, their political and religious sympathies inclining them to adopt that cause.

It may be sufficient to summarize very briefly the sequence of the more prominent events which for a time obliterated episcopacy from the great shire of York, and placed it, as regards religious matters, in the hands of the Presbyterian preachers.

The war went on with varying fortunes. Negotiations were attempted from time to time, but without success ; for each party mistrusted the other.

In 1643 an assembly was summoned by Parliament to sit at Westminster, consisting of 30 lay persons and 121 divines, who were to deliberate as to some plan for "the settlement of the government and liturgy of the Church of England and the clearing of the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations." In the same year an oath, called the Solemn League and Covenant, which was really a pledge to overthrow the Church, was imposed upon all who held civil or military offices, and upon such of the clergy as had been permitted to retain their benefices.

On the 2nd July, 1644, the battle of Marston Moor was fought. It was a disastrous day for the Royalists and the death-blow of their cause in Yorkshire. The city of York had been beleaguered by Fairfax and the Earl of Manchester, and after the defeat of the king's forces at Marston, the siege was carried on with renewed vigour. Preparations were now made for storming the defences. The environment had lasted

for eighteen weeks, and its gallant defenders, finding that the place was no longer tenable, capitulated, and were allowed to march out with the honours of war. Special guarantees were given, it is said at the instance of Lord Fairfax, that neither churches nor other buildings should be defaced by the Parliamentarians. The garrison retired to Skipton.

On the 3rd January, 1644-5, the Directory for public worship was established, by an Ordinance of Parliament bearing that date. That it might have full effect, a further Ordinance was passed, in the August following, forbidding the use of the book of Common-prayer altogether. They were not content with its prohibition in public worship. They went further than this :—it might not be used in a man's own house, to lead the devotions of his family and household, or even, as it seemed, for his own individual edification and comfort. All Prayer-books belonging to churches and chapels were to be delivered up within a month, and their use forbidden under heavy penalties ; £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third. Ministers who did not observe the Directory were to forfeit 40s., and preaching, writing, or printing anything against it was punishable by the imposition of a fine, of which the maximum was £50, the minimum £5.

Even Neal, the historian of the Puritans, is ashamed of this infamous law, which he pronounces "equally to be condemned with the severities and oppressions of the late times," and he goes on to say that, though it might be right enough to abrogate the public use of the Prayer-book, it was highly unreason-

able to forbid the reading it in private families or closets.¹ He might well say so. The Puritans vehemently contended for liberty of conscience, but it was on their own side only. The spirit of their Ordinance was as harsh and intolerant, as much opposed to the genuine spirit of Christianity, as any statutes or canons passed in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., or the king whom they were now doing their best to dethrone.

The suppression of the form of worship according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England was very speedily followed by the execution of the great prelate who was so obnoxious to the party who effected it. Laud was beheaded on the 10th January, 1644-5.

The battle of Naseby was fought on the 14th June following. It was practically the final blow to Charles' power. Some of the garrisons in the hands of the Royalists still held out, indeed, and partial successes here and there afforded gleams of hope to the more sanguine amongst them. Negotiations went on from time to time, but they ended in nothing. On the 1st January, 1649, a High Court of Justice was set up to try the sovereign, and on the 30th of the same month his head was struck off on the scaffold at Whitehall.

Diocesan rule had ere this ceased in Yorkshire as elsewhere throughout the country. Some few ministers who were contented to accept the Directory retained their benefices. Amongst them was Mr. Todd, who

¹ Neal's "Hist. Pur.," iii. p. 158.

was so summarily suspended by Archbishop Neile (*ante*, p. 374). But a large proportion of the loyal clergy were ejected, and many subjected to great privations.

Amongst the more eminent of the Yorkshire clergy thus dealt with may be mentioned John Neile, a son of the archbishop of that name. He was archdeacon of Cleveland, canon of York, and rector of Beeford. Like many others, he was deprived of the means of subsistence, and earned a precarious maintenance by teaching, until the Restoration reinstated him in his preferments. He eventually became Dean of Ripon. Robinson, the vicar of Leeds, was amongst those ejected, which seems remarkable, for his sympathies were certainly with the Puritans. But he probably did not go far enough, and Leeds was undoubtedly a stronghold of the more advanced men of that school. He was replaced by Peter Saxton, who held that benefice from 1646 to 1651. He is worthy of a brief mention on account of an arrangement proposed during his incumbency—possibly at his instance, certainly, as we may presume, with his sanction—for the division of the great parish of Leeds, though it never was carried into effect. The idea was suggested by a commission which was granted for the purpose of surveying and subdividing the great parishes of the North of England the original reports of which are in the Lambeth library. The object was to break down all distinction between the parish churches and their subsidiary chapels, to form as many parishes as there were places of worship, and to provide a competent maintenance

in each for a resident preaching minister.¹ It was a far-sighted and admirable scheme, projected though it were by men who had little affection for the Church of England, in our sense of the term, and was a remarkable foreshadowing of a plan which has been carried out in our own day, notably in Leeds, and in other wide and extensive parishes in different parts of England.

In 1660 the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of Great Britain took place, and was followed by the restoration of the Church of England to her rights and privileges. The bishops were reinstated in their sees, and those which had become vacant by the deaths of their occupants were filled up without delay. Archbishop Williams, as has already been mentioned, died in 1650. The Northern primacy was bestowed by the king upon Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. He was elected Archbishop of York on the 22nd September, 1660, and enthroned on the 11th of the following month.

The Presbyterian party were much discontented at the prospect of the Book of Common-prayer being again recognised as the form which was to guide the public worship of the people of England, and made many complaints to the king upon the subject. They alleged the burden that a set form of prayer imposed upon tender consciences, and though they admitted that a Liturgy, if consonant to the Word of God, might lawfully be used, it ought not to be enforced with over much rigour, but that the minister might

¹ See Whitaker's "Loidis and Elmete," pp. 34, 35.

be permitted "also to make use of those gifts for prayer and exhortation which Christ hath given him for the service and edification of the Church." Much negotiation took place, but no final settlement could be arrived at. At last a warrant was issued on the 25th March, 1661, appointing a conference at the Savoy, to take into consideration the exceptions taken by the Presbyterian party against the Book of Common-prayer, the question of episcopal jurisdiction, and some lesser matters relating to ceremonial. Twelve bishops, as many Presbyterian divines, and nine other divines on each side as coadjutors, to fill the places of absentees, constituted the conference. Archbishop Frewen of York was at the head of the Church of England clergy. Long discussions took place, but a reconciliation was found to be unattainable.

No practical result having followed the conference, a review of the Prayer-book was ordered to be taken in hand by the Convocations of Canterbury and York. The Archbishop of York, Bishop Cosin of Durham, and the Bishops of Carlisle and Chester were invited to assist at the deliberations of the Southern Convocation. The co-operation of the Lower House of the Northern Convocation was requisite, and five members of the Lower House of York were empowered to attend and act as proxies for their brethren. The revision was completed on the 20th December, 1661, and after receiving the subscriptions of the bishops and clergy of both Houses and of both Provinces, was submitted to the king in council and received the royal approval.

The Act of Uniformity was at this time under discussion by the Lords,¹ and a copy of the book with the Great Seal attached was delivered to them with a message from the king. The act received the royal assent on the 19th May, 1662.

It is needless to say that, with the sole exception of the altered Table of Lessons, which in our own time has taken the place of the former arrangement, the Prayer-book of 1662 is identical with that now in use.

Those who withdrew themselves after the enactment of this statute, or were turned out of the benefices they occupied on the day of St. Bartholomew, 1662, were, for the most part, the best and most conscientious of the Puritan party. This was conspicuously the case in Yorkshire. Many who were eminent in a very high degree for piety and learning refused to conform. A few may be mentioned. The foremost on the list is undoubtedly Mr. Edward Bowles. He was the recognised leader of the Nonconformists, but was universally esteemed, even by those who most

¹ If the Lords had had their own way, the provisions of the Act of Uniformity would have been far less stringent than those finally passed. A letter from Mr. R. Neile to Bishop Cosin's secretary (April 29, 1662) tells us this:—"The great divell that scareth them is the Act of Uniformity, which is now in the house of Commons, who have thrown out both the provisoes which in one of yours you so rightly guessed. The Pu[r]itan] Lords are much troubled at it, but the Commons are resolute, and will pass noe Bills of concernment (as for money or the like) till the Bill of Uniformity be passed." And he adds a postscript:—"Dr. Sand[croft] saith the Presbyterian ministers in Suffolke now begin to say that the Lords' house is the house of the Lord, and soe they pray for itt." ("Mickleton MSS.," A. lxx.)

differed from his views, for the singular excellence and consistency of his character. Of this no stronger proof can be given than the offer which was made him, shortly after the Restoration, of the Deanery of York. He was well known in that city, for during the Commonwealth he was a very frequent preacher at the Minster and at All Saints' Pavement, the church in which the Solemn League and Covenant was taken by the citizens of York. He was also chaplain to Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the great Parliamentary general, by whom he was greatly beloved. Another was Thomas Calvert, rector of the last-mentioned parish, who was a highly accomplished Oriental scholar, and on that account was familiarly designated as Rabbi Calvert. To these must be added Matthew Poole, the author of the "Synopsis Criticorum." He was highly esteemed by Lord Fairfax, who bequeathed him £10 "towards the carrying on of his Synopsis of the Cretics." There were others also, of somewhat lesser note as regards learning, but of equal excellence and piety. Amongst these Oliver Heywood occupies no undistinguished place. Peter Williams may also be named, who was a native of York, and Shaw, the Vicar of Rotherham, who mentions in his autobiography that he once had "very terrible threatening language" used to him by Archbishop Neile.

A vast amount of sympathy was felt by very many of the better class of persons in Yorkshire, for men such as those thus briefly indicated, who were either ejected, or whose conscientious convictions forbade conformity. There was much to incline pious and

thoughtful persons in the direction of Puritanism. "Intolerance on the one hand, and a total absence of all earnestness and zeal in God's cause on the other, were looked upon with dislike by good and sober-minded men. And there were few places in England in which the national church was, at that time, at a greater disadvantage than in the city of York. The Minster clergy did no credit to their office or their religion,"¹ and contrasted most unfavourably with the austere piety, narrow though it might be in many points, of the good men whose public utterances in the churches were now silenced.

There was great irritation of feeling caused by the working of the "black Bartholomew Act," as it was called, amongst other classes of the community, whose rancour was oftentimes more genuine than their piety. In October, 1663, an insurrection was organised on a considerable scale. Farnley wood, near Leeds, was their rendezvous, and liberty of conscience was their war-cry. But they had no leader of any standing or position, and the rising was crushed almost as speedily as it arose. A special assize was held in the winter of that year, and a large number of the insurgents tried and convicted. Twenty-two were executed in Yorkshire, many imprisoned for a length of time, and others bound over to good behaviour.

The most prominent amongst the sectaries who took part in the political and religious demonstrations of the time were the Quakers. We find them perpetually indicted at the York assizes for holding

¹ Canon Raine's "Memoir of Mr. Justice Rokeby" (*Miscellanea*, Pub. Surtees Soc., pp. 4, 5).

their conventicles, which they went on doing with wonderful pertinacity, in spite of all prohibitions, pains, and penalties. The authorities utterly failed to suppress them. They flourished in spite of all their efforts, and abounded at that period in very many parts of Yorkshire where, at the present day, there is scarcely a representative of the sect to be found. The adherents of the Society of Friends appear to have then belonged chiefly to the lower middle class. It was almost the only form of dissent known at that time in Yorkshire, with the exception of Presbyterianism.

Archbishop Frewen's episcopate was not a long one. He died at Bishopthorpe on the 28th March, 1664, and was buried in the Minster.

His successor, Richard Sterne, was translated from Carlisle. He is memorable as having been chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and having attended him on the scaffold. He died 18th June, 1683.

The next Archbishop's career was somewhat remarkable. When little more than a boy, John Dolben left Oxford, where he had a studentship at Christ Church, joined the ranks of the Royalist army, was present at the siege of York, and fought at Marston Moor, where he was dangerously wounded. He afterwards received Holy Orders, and by one of those strange chances, as we call them, which sometimes occur in life, his next entry within the walls of York, long years after, was in far different array and with far different surroundings. Strange memories must have been awakened in the Archbishop's mind, as he passed under the archway of Micklegate bar on

his way to be enthroned in the Minster, when he looked back upon that summer's night in 1644 when, as a weary and wounded fugitive, he formed one of the thronging crowd of defeated Royalists who were pressing through its narrow portal to seek refuge and shelter within the walls of York.

During the period covered by the episcopates of these three last-named prelates, severe measures were passed affecting alike the Nonconformists and the Roman Catholics. In 1670 the act against conventicles received the royal assent. Its provisions were very stringent. Five persons or more assembled in a house, over and above the family or household ; and five or more in a house, field, or place where there was no family or household, were held to constitute a conventicle. As in the case of the Act of Uniformity, the House of Lords agreed, indeed, to the passing of the bill, but not without indications of strong repugnance to its bitter and intolerant spirit. A record of this occurs in a letter written by a chaplain of Bishop Cosin (April 14, 1670): "I heard the *great hum* when the words *Le Roy le veult* were spoken at the passing of the Act against Conventicles."¹ Fresh impetus was given by the passing of this statute to the persecution of dissenters. In 1673 the Test Act was passed, under the provisions of which no office could be filled by any one who had not communicated according to the rites of the Church of England. This affected equally the Nonconformists and the Roman Catholics. The former were perpetually

¹ "Cosin Correspondence," Introd., p. xxx.

indicted for holding their meetings in private houses. This was often the case in York, where their numbers were very large. Whole congregations were sometimes seized, and the principal members fined and occasionally imprisoned. Similar proceedings took place at Leeds, Wakefield, and other places.

Deep feelings of indignation were aroused by these vexatious acts, resulting in strong expressions of antipathy on the part of the populace against the clergy of the Minster. Mobs do not discriminate, and a prohibition which was simply intended to promote common decency within the walls of the Minster was made the pretext for a violent and unmanly attack upon one of its dignitaries. It was then the custom—not quite extinct in some cathedrals within living memory—for people to assemble and walk up and down the nave on Sundays whilst service was going on in the choir. Lake (afterwards one of the seven bishops sent to the Tower) was then a Residentiary, and endeavoured to put a stop to this. The *perfervidum ingenium Eboracensium* was aroused by this interference with their freedom of action; the mob attacked Lake's house, stripped off the tiling, and it was thought might have actually murdered him if his rescue had not been effected by the Deputy Governor of the Castle.

The penal statutes against the Roman Catholics were most rigorously enforced at this period. Real or pretended plots were constantly supposed to be discovered, and the result was the harshest possible treatment. The houses of the gentry were searched for horses and arms, and the oath of allegiance syste-

matically put to them; oftentimes the result of the basest conduct on the part of informers, whose one sole object was to secure money for themselves out of the penalties that were levied on the unhappy recusants.

Archbishop Dolben's tenure of the chair of York did not extend over many years, but he showed himself not unworthy of his high office during his somewhat brief episcopate. The injunctions he gave to the capitular body of York show a deep anxiety that the great mother church of the diocese should be, as he expresses it, "a seminary and nursery of Christian virtue." There was evidently not a little laxity and no little carelessness on the part of some of the higher clergy of the Minster. The Archbishop complains "that many of them when they are to preach doe spend the time of prayers in the vestry or elsewhere, not comeing into the quire till they are called to the pulpit, to the offence of the congregation and lessening the esteeme of the holy offices of the church," and he earnestly enjoins reformation in that particular. He likewise draws attention to the injunctions of his predecessor, Archbishop Holgate, on a yet higher subject, the weekly celebration of the Holy Communion, in accordance with the rubric; and he directs that from the first Sunday after the following Easter, each Lord's day should witness such celebration in future.

His exhortations were not wholly fruitless. There was one at least among the dignitaries of the Minster who had a deep regard for all that concerned the public worship of the House of God. Dr. Comber was then

Precentor, so well known as the author of a book of no little repute in its day, the "Companion to the Temple." In his desire to promote obedience to his diocesan's earnest injunctions on the subject of weekly communion, he had constant encouragement from his friend Denis Granville, Dean of Durham. He was fortified also by a knowledge of the success which had attended Dr. Beveridge's efforts in this direction in his parish church of St. Peter's, Cornhill, and by Dean Tillotson's establishment of the practice in the Cathedral of Canterbury. But in spite of archiepiscopal injunctions and his own earnest endeavours, it was up-hill work. In May, 1684, we find Comber writing to Sancroft:—"We are here very happy in him [Archbishop Dolben], for he is very active in his station, but still the weekly communions do not take. I have moved it with modesty and am not denied, but the thing is deferred for a while. I hope it may shortly do." It was no wonder that there were obstructives amongst the older members of Chapter. It appears from a letter of Comber to Dean Granville that, previously to 1617, when Dean Meriton ordered a monthly Sacrament, it had not been the custom to have a celebration of Holy Communion in the Minster except on the Great Festivals, and the Precentor evidently had misgivings as to the expediency of forcing on more frequent communions without some previous preparation. He concludes some very sensible observations by the remark, "You must think of *bene* as well as *sæpe*, or else religion will rather lose than gain by reviving this long sleeping rubric." In the end, however, its revival was accomplished, but it

fell into desuetude again in the course of the next century.¹

On the 6th February, 1685, Charles II. died, and James II. ascended the throne. He had not been long seated there before the see of York became vacant by the death of Archbishop Dolben, which took place on the 11th April, 1686. No nomination of a successor was made until the very eve of James' departure from the shores of England never to return, in the hope, possibly, that he might be able eventually to fill the northern primacy by the appointment of a prelate of his own religious views.

During the vacancy of the see of York the jurisdiction passed into the hands of the Dean and Chapter, and when the king issued, on the 4th April, 1687, his celebrated "Declaration for liberty of conscience," a letter was addressed by Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, to Dr. Tobias Wickham, the Dean of York, urging him in the strongest terms to prevail upon the Chapter to send an address of thanks for it to the king, couched in similar terms to those which he, in conjunction with Bishop Crewe and some other prelates, had induced their clergy to adopt. But as far as York was concerned his efforts were futile, mainly owing to the firmness of an individual member of the chapter. Dr. Comber "so effectually opposed this attempt that not a single individual set his hand to the address," with the sole exception of the Dean.

In the following year, James issued his second

¹ It was resumed in 1841 by order of Archbishop Harcourt.

Declaration of Indulgence, and required it to be publicly read in all the churches. When the order was received at York, a meeting of the clergy was held to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. The Dean declined to give an opinion. Dr. Comber then invited a number of the clergy to meet at his house for further consultation, the result of which was that all present refused to read it, and agreed to send a paper to every parish containing their reasons for coming to that conclusion. The issue was that the royal command was obeyed by very few indeed in the diocese of York.

The Roman Catholics, naturally enough, availed themselves of the liberty given by the king's Declaration. The number of vicars apostolic appears to have been enlarged. The northern district was assigned to James Smith (Bishop of Callipolis *in partibus*), who made his entry into York about this time with considerable ceremony. He was met by a number of the priesthood, who sang a *Te Deum*, and conducted him *processionaliter* to a chapel where the rites of the Old Religion were solemnized. The bishop was vested in full pontificals, and carried a large silver pastoral staff, given by Catherine of Braganza.¹ The Protestant zeal of Lord Danby was strangely moved by the sight, and he rushed impulsively forward and

¹ Her arms, in a widow's lozenge, surmounted by a crown, are engraved on one side of the staff, and those of Smith on the other. Dr. Smith's nomination as a bishop is said to have been due to the Queen-dowager's influence, and she made him a present of 200 guineas on the day of his consecration. See Dodd's "Church Hist.," p. 468.

wrested it from him. It is now preserved in the Minster vestry.

The king's ill-advised order for the reading of his Declaration in the churches led, as we all know, to his contest with the bishops, their committal to the Tower, their trial and acquittal. The enthusiastic expression of delight with which the people hailed the liberation of the prelates showed James in an unmistakable manner the light in which they regarded his acts, and his utter unpopularity. There was another reason. An heir was at this time born to the crown, and the feeling of those who were opposed to James' rule became intensified by the probable contingency, which that event involved, of their future sovereign being of like faith with his father and trained to pursue a like policy. An invitation was at once addressed to the Prince of Orange, signed by Lord Danby and others, praying for his intervention, and promising support both in money and arms. The news soon reached England that he was preparing to land troops upon her shores. It was originally intended that the disembarkation should take place on the coast of Yorkshire, and preparations were made accordingly by Lord Danby. But adverse winds occasioned his course to be altered, and he landed at Torbay on the 5th November, 1688.

James soon found that resistance would be hopeless, and he left his kingdom on the 23rd of the December following. One of his last acts of sovereignty was to translate Bishop Lamplugh to the see of York, which had now been vacant fully two years. Lamplugh was Bishop of Exeter, and tried to arouse

the county of Devon to oppose the landing of the Prince of Orange. His efforts were fruitless, but they doubtless recommended him to James, who immediately nominated him to the northern primacy, and he was enthroned on the 19th December, a very few days before his royal master's departure from the shores of England.

The writ for proclaiming William and Mary as King and Queen of Great Britain arrived in York on the evening of the 17th February, 1688-9. It was the commencement of a new era—an era of political and religious freedom, and of consequent moral and social progress, unequalled in any previous period of our country's history.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE accession of William and Mary was soon followed by the passing of an act imposing an oath of allegiance, to be taken by all persons who exercised any public functions. Ecclesiastics who refused to comply with this enactment within a certain time were to be suspended, and if six months elapsed after suspension, without such compliance, deprivation followed. A large number of the clergy entertained great scruples with regard to this oath. They had sworn allegiance to James, and the question how far they were justified in transferring their allegiance to the new sovereign was embarrassing to them in the highest degree. After much anxious thought and consultation, Archbishop Sancroft and eight of his episcopal brethren absolutely refused to take the oath, and submitted to the deprivation involved by their non-compliance.

Their example was followed by many conscientious and scrupulous members of the clerical order, who became known by the name of "Non-jurors." Their number amounted to about four hundred.¹

¹ The Non-jurors maintained their principles, and carried on a succession of bishops down to a comparatively recent period. Cartwright, one of their last bishops, died in 1799; and Lathbury (in his "History of the Non-jurors," p. 412) says that he had "been informed by a gentleman residing in the West of England, that a non-juring clergyman was living so late as the year 1815,"

Archbishop Lamplugh of York was amongst the prelates who swore allegiance to William and Mary, notwithstanding the part he had taken in opposition to the landing of the former (*ante*, p. 403). A few of his clergy remained steadfast in their allegiance to James. From a list given in the Appendix to Hickes' "Life of Kettlewell," it appears that there were thirty-one Non-jurors in the diocese of York. The most eminent in point of position was Dr. Crowbrough, Archdeacon of Nottingham and Canon of York and Southwell.

The names just mentioned of "Hickes" and "Kettlewell," although neither were beneficed in the northern province, cannot be passed over in any notice, however brief, of the Non-jurors connected with Yorkshire. Both were born within a few miles of North Allerton, both educated at the grammar-school of that town, both fellows of Lincoln College, Oxford, and each occupied no inconspicuous place amongst those who, at this particular juncture, submitted to deprivation rather than forego their conscientious convictions. Dr. George Hickes was Dean of Worcester, and his life-long friend, John Kettlewell, was Vicar of Coleshill in Warwickshire. The former was one of the most eminent scholars of his day;¹ the latter held no mean place as a man of learning, but was still more honourably distinguished for the singular simplicity and sanctity of his life.

All attempts to conciliate the Non-jurors failed.

¹ Dr. Hickes wrote many controversial works, but is now chiefly remembered by his books on the Northern Languages, especially his "Thesaurus Linguarum Vet. Septentrionalium."

Sancroft's deprivation was followed by the appointment of Tillotson to the primacy. The latter was a Yorkshireman by birth, and his early training in a Puritan home predisposed him to sympathise more cordially with the Nonconformist party than with churchmen like Sancroft or Ken, Hickes or Kettlewell. He took a prominent part when the Bill of Comprehension was proposed, and the Houses of Convocation were summoned to deliberate upon it, as also when the question of a review of the Book of Common-prayer and the Canons was mooted, with a view of making such concessions to the Dissenters as might result in their union with the Church. Some of the alterations proposed were not undesirable, yet we may well be thankful that the majestic cadences of the prayers and collects escaped "being made anew" by Patrick, Burnet, and Stillingfleet, and receiving the finishing touches of Tillotson, "who polished over whatever was left rough in the compositions with his smooth language and flowingness of his easy eloquence."¹ But every obstacle was interposed by a large majority of the Lower House. In the face of this opposition, comprehension was hopeless, and the whole scheme fell to the ground. The Northern Convocation appears to have had no hand in the matter.

Archbishop Lamplugh died in 1691, and was succeeded by Dr. John Sharp, then Dean of Canterbury. Like his friend Tillotson, he was a native of Yorkshire. Other bishoprics had been previously offered him. But in each case the vacancy was caused

¹ Life of Tillotson (in "Wordsworth's Eccles. Biog.," iv. p. 680).

by the deprivation of the occupant of the see, and Sharp's personal feelings were so averse from succeeding to a bishopric which was vacant in such a manner that he absolutely refused these offers—much, it was said, to the royal displeasure. No such reason interfered with his acceptance of York, when, through Tillotson's intervention, he received an intimation that the king had nominated him to that high position. He was enthroned on the 16th July, 1691.

Archbishop Sharp was no common man. His personal religion was deep and genuine, his diligence in his episcopal work unwearied, and he was especially conscientious in the disposal of his patronage. He made himself minutely acquainted with the character of his clergy throughout his wide diocese. Residence upon their benefices was strongly urged, and he set his face, as far as he could, against pluralities, except in the case of small and contiguous livings. He was a true son of the Church of England, as deeply attached to her formularies, and as exact in their observance, as were men like Laud, or his predecessor Neile ; but, unlike them, he was singularly tolerant as regarded those who dissented from the Church, hating anything that "had but the appearance of bitterness and violence against their persons," and detesting "to hear them vilified and maltreated in the pulpit, which he abhorred should be prostituted to such purposes."¹

The list of prelates who presided over the diocese of York during the remainder of the century, after he was taken to his rest in 1714, presents no one who stands out to view in any very marked and prominent

¹ "Life of Archbishop Sharp," i. p. 357 (London : 1825).

manner as emulating the example and carrying out the traditions of Archbishop Sharp's episcopate. The holders of the northern primacy, with perhaps one solitary exception, were prelates of the highest respectability in character and attainments, and filled their high office with all suitable dignity of demeanour, but they can scarcely be said to have been distinguished by any peculiarly episcopal qualifications, as we now understand that term. It was the same, with some brilliant exceptions, throughout the Church at that period. Apathy was the characteristic of the 18th century. *Surtout, point du zèle* might have been inscribed on its banners. And as it was with the prelates, so was it with the clergy. Most of the higher class of clergy were, no doubt, gentlemen and scholars. But the system of pluralities, that *damnosa hereditas* of mediæval times, was yet in full vigour. Many an ecclesiastic held a living, or livings, which, after his induction, he never visited, delegating the performance of their parochial services to curates on meagre stipends, of inferior social position, and slender attainments either in scholarship or theology. The inimitable pictures drawn by Fielding's pencil of Parson Adams and Parson Trulliber, caricatures though they be, were taken from real life,—the one presenting a portrait of the better class of the humbler country clergy of the day, the other of their lowest type ;—one, simple in habits, not altogether unscholarly, or regardless of clerical obligations: the other, coarse and vulgar, in no degree removed, socially, from the level of the lower class of farmers amongst whom they lived, and to whom they presented the ministrations

of the Church in the most slovenly and perfunctory manner.

We can easily imagine how startling to such men must have been the appearance of a man like John Wesley in their parishes, and how vehement would be their denunciations against an enthusiasm which they did not share and an earnestness which they could in no wise comprehend. But the feeling was not confined to the Parson Adamses or Trullibers. The clergy, generally, were full of prejudices of the narrowest description. They hated Nonconformists as intensely as they detested Romanists; and although Wesley was an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, his contempt for all the formalities of her discipline, his open-air preaching in the market-place or on the village green, when the pulpits of the churches were closed against him, and the excited fervour of his disciples, their groans of contrition when conviction of sin was awakened within them, and their shouts of exultation when they deemed that the burden of that sin was removed, caused him to be regarded by the great majority of clergy, both in town and country, as a fanatic of the wildest description and his teaching and preaching as subversive of all ecclesiastical decency and order.

The history of John Wesley is too well known to need recapitulation. He seems always to have taken a great interest in the Yorkshire people. His journals show how laboriously he traversed that great county in the hope of awakening some deeper feeling of religion amongst its inhabitants. His success varied in Yorkshire as elsewhere. Sometimes he was kindly treated

by the clergyman and gladly admitted to his pulpit. But that was the exception, not the rule. In other places he was mobbed, reviled and abused in all possible ways, and the poor people who gathered round him were subjected to the like indignities.

But all this violence ceased in time. The movement spread. Societies banded together under John Wesley's rules, became established in one town, village, and hamlet in Yorkshire after another, long before the death of their originator; and, at the present day, there are few counties in England where the Wesleyan system, in one or other of the branches into which it has become divided, has a stronger hold upon certain classes of the population.

Yet, indirectly, Wesley's work has benefited the Church of England. It had an awakening effect. It was a rude awakening, at the first, undoubtedly, but it was a real one. It was followed by other movements in the Church itself. It was succeeded by the Evangelical revival, and subsequently by the Oxford movement, each needful in their day, each characterized by genuine earnestness and real piety on the part of both leaders and followers. The result has been that the Church has, by slow degrees, become more elastic, more tolerant, and—may we not add?—more efficient, than she was a century ago. All this surely betokens a future in that Church's history which, as we may venture to hope, may be characterized by a truer appreciation of the great principles of the Gospel of Christ, by a purer and brighter exhibition of mutual forbearance and more enlarged toleration.

Since the commencement of the present century, many public measures have been passed, affecting, in a greater or lesser degree, the spiritual and material interests of the Church of England. Foremost amongst these was the Repeal of the Test Act in 1828, which abolished, we may hope, for ever, the degrading law which made participation in the holiest rite of the Church a passport to the exercise of civil functions and temporal offices. Then followed the Statutes which did away with the holding of benefices in plurality. They have given, step by step, resident incumbents to parishes where, in numberless cases, no holder of the benefice had resided within the memory of man. Many a parish in this great diocese was thus circumstanced; but a vast change for the better has been wrought in that respect, affording an augury of lasting good as the fruit of those wise enactments.

The most important act, peculiarly affecting the diocese of York, was that which gave effect to the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for its division. A new see was founded at Ripon in 1836, and a large district placed under the rule of its bishop, containing the important towns of Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, Wakefield, and others, and the wide tract of country comprised within the limits of the old Archdeaconry of Richmond. On the like recommendation the county of Nottingham was dis-severed from the diocese and province of York, and given to the diocese of Lincoln. This took full effect in 1841.

Dr. Longley, afterwards successively Bishop of

Durham, Archbishop of York, and Primate of All England, was the first Bishop of Ripon. The anxious work involved by the organization of a new diocese could not have been committed to worthier or more able hands. Carefully, wisely, considerately was that work accomplished, and when he left Ripon for a higher position in the Church, his departure was followed by the deepest regret on the part of all who had come under his charge, or who had enjoyed the privilege of his friendship.

Other important statutes, passed in 1840 and 1841, dealt with the cathedrals of England. Considerable changes took place under their provisions in the Minster of York. The canons, with the exception of the four residentiaries, were deprived of their prebends, or separate estates, and of the patronage of the livings belonging to them in right of their stalls. Their other rights and privileges were left undisturbed.

In 1852 the Houses of Convocation were allowed to meet for consultative purposes, a privilege which had been denied to them since the time when so much excitement prevailed amongst their members respecting Bishop Hoadley's celebrated sermon and and the subsequent "Bangorian controversy." The idea did not commend itself to Archbishop Musgrave, and the Northern Convocation only met *pro formâ* whilst he held the see. Under Archbishop Longley it was placed on the same footing as that of the Southern Province, a privilege which has been continued under the primacy of his successor.

Concerning the qualifications and diocesan ad-

ministration of the prelates who now occupy the chairs of York and Ripon it would be unbecoming to speak. "Addressed to living merit the voice of legitimate praise can scarcely be distinguished from that of flattery."

One observation may yet be permitted. Never, certainly, since the Reformation, have so many organizations, diocesan, archidiaconal, ruri-decanal and parochial, been set on foot and maintained in all the dioceses of England, as in the present century, for the spread of religion at home and abroad, the extension of education, and the various ministries of mercy which have been devised for the mitigation of human miseries, the promotion of temperance and the rescue of the fallen. The object of each finds always the readiest sympathy and the most cordial help from the chief pastors of our Church, and in no period more than our own has the personal activity of the episcopate been brought to bear upon the masses of the population with a more unselfish devotion or a more ceaseless energy.

In all these manifestations of Christian love, the great diocese whose more prominent historical features it has been the object of these pages to portray, is assuredly not one of the least conspicuous.

CONCEDE, QUÆSUMUS DOMINE, FAMULO TUO METROPOLITANO NOSTRO, UT PRÆDICANDO ET EXERCENDO QUÆ RECTA SUNT, EXEMPLO BONORUM OPERUM ANIMAS SUORUM INSTRUAT SUBDITORUM, ET ÆTERNÆ REMUNERATIONIS MERCEDEM, À TE PIISSIMO PASTORE, PERCIPIAT : PER CHRISTUM DOMINUM NOSTRUM. AMEN.

LIST OF BISHOPS AND ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK.

BISHOPS.	Accession or Enthronement. A. D.	Accession or Enthronement. A. D.
1. Paulinus	627	16. Oskytel 956
(<i>Fled into Kent in 663. No bishop of York for above thirty years</i>).		17. Ethelwold (<i>omitted in some of the ancient lists</i>).
2. S. Wilfrid	665	18. Oswald 972
(<i>Chad (appointed during Wilfrid's protracted ab- sence from his diocese ; resigned in 667).</i>		19. Adulph 993
S. Wilfrid (<i>driven out</i>)	667	20. Wulstan II. 1002
3. Bosa (<i>retired about 686</i>)	678	21. Alfric Puttoc 1023
S. Wilfrid (<i>reinstated</i>)		22. Kinsius 1051
Bosa (<i>restored</i>)		23. Aldred 1060
4. S. John of Beverley	705	24. Thomas of Bayeux 1070
5. Wilfrid II.	718	25. Gerard 1100
		26. Thomas II. 1109
		27. Thurstan 1114
		28. S. William of York (<i>deposed</i>) 1144
		29. Henry Murdac ... 1147
		S. William (<i>rein- stated</i>) 1153
		30. Roger de Pont L'Evêque (<i>died in 1181. See vacant ten years</i>)... 1154
		31. Geoffrey Plantagenet 1191
		(<i>See vacant nine years</i>).
		32. Walter de Gray ... 1216
		33. Sewall de Bovill ... 1256
		34. Godfrey de Ludham 1258
		35. Walter Giffard ... 1266
		36. William Wickwaine 1279
		37. John Romanus ... 1286
		38. Henry de Newerk 1296
ARCHBISHOPS.		
6. Egbert	732	
7. Albert	766	
8. Eanbald	780	
9. Eanbald II.	796	
10. Wulfsius	812	
11. Wigmund	831	
12. Wulfhere	854	
13. Ethelbald	895	
14. Redewald or Lothe- ward (Uncertain)		
15. Wulstan (Uncertain)		

Accession or Enthronement.		Accession or Enthronement.	
	A.D.		A.D.
39. Thomas de Corbridge	1300	63. John Piers ...	1589
40. William de Green- field	1304	64. Matthew Hutton ...	1595
41. William de Melton ..	1316	65. Tobias Mathew ...	1606
42. William la Zouche...	1340	66. George Montaigne...	1628
43. John de Thoresby ...	1353	67. Samuel Harsnett ...	1628
44. Alexander de Neville	1374	68. Richard Neile ...	1632
45. Thomas Arundel ...	1388	69. John Williams ...	1641
46. Robert Waldby ...	1397	<i>(See vacant ten years).</i>	
47. Richard Scrope ...	1398	70. Accepted Frewen ...	1660
48. Henry Bowet ...	1407	71. Richard Sterne ...	1664
49. John Kemp...	1426	72. John Dolben ...	1683
50. William Booth ...	1452	73. Thomas Lamplugh	1688
51. George Neville ...	1465	74. John Sharp...	1691
52. Lawrence Booth ...	1476	75. Sir William Dawes, Bart.	1714
53. Thomas Rotherham	1480	76. Lancelot Blackburne	1724
54. Thomas Savage ...	1501	77. Thomas Herring ..	1743
55. Christopher Bain- brigg	1508	78. Matthew Hutton ...	1747
56. Thomas Wolsey ...	1514	79. John Gilbert ...	1757
57. Edward Lee ...	1531	80. Robert Hay Drum- mond	1761
58. Robert Holgate (<i>de- prived in 1554</i>) ...	1545	81. William Markham...	1777
59. Nicholas Heath (<i>de- prived in 1560</i>) ...	1555	82. Edward Venables { Vernon-Harcourt }	1808
60. Thomas Young ...	1561	83. Thomas Musgrave...	1847
61. Edmund Grindal ...	1570	84. Charles Thomas Longley	1860
62. Edwin Sandys ...	1577	85. William Thomson...	1863

INDEX.

- ACCA, accompanies Wilfrid to Rome, 78, 79
- Adalgis, King of Friesland, 63
- Addi, 39; Earl, 85
- Adrian, Pope, 89
- Ælla, Bishop of Dorchester, 66
- Æona, 55, 60
- Agatho, 48, 49; Pope, 63
- Agilbert, Bishop, 48, 49, 53
- Aidan, 29; made Bishop of Lindisfarne, 30, 31; his death, 36; characteristics of monasteries founded by him, 44
- Aire, river, 6
- ALBERT, Archbishop, 19, 89; carries on school at York, 91; adds to library, *ib.*; restores Minster of York, 91, 92; his death, 92
- Alchfred, 39
- Alchfrid, 39, 42, 47, 48
- Alcuin, 2, 89; his work at school of York, 91; his eminent scholarship, *ib.*, gathers MSS. for library, 91; leaves York, 92; goes to Charlemagne, *ib.*; his letters to Eanbald II., 93; dies at Tours, 94.
- Aldhelm, of Malmesbury, 78
- Alfred the Great, his campaigns against the Northmen, 97
- Aldfrid, King, 72, 74; summons a synod, 76, 78; his death, 80
- ALDRED, last Saxon archbishop of York, 102; held Worcester along with York, *ib.*; reproached for this by Pope, *ib.*; degraded, *ib.*; plundered by robbers, *ib.*; returns to Rome, *ib.*; high-spirited conduct of his companion, Earl Tosti, *ib.*; resigns Worcester, *ib.*; his munificence, 103; crowns Harold, *ib.*; crowns William, 104; his death, 106
- Aldwin, prior of Winchcombe, 114; restores ruined church at Jarrow, 115
- Allegiance, to William and Mary, oath of, refused by Sancroft and eight bishops, 405; example followed by number of clergy, *ib.*
- Allen, William, Cardinal, establishes college at Douay, 352; his motives, 353
- Altars, replaced by wooden tables, 318
- Alva, Duke of, 346
- Andrew, Henry, makes vow "after the order of hermettes," 211; Alice, wife of, becomes a vowess, *ib.*
- Angles, religious belief of, 21

- Anglesey, 12
 Anglia, East, 10; becomes a Danish kingdom, 96
 Anlaf, 97
 Annates, payment of, forbidden, 241
 Appeals to Pope, forbidden, 241
 Archbishops of York, succession of statesmen, 161; secular character of, 162
 Architecture, Ecclesiastical, in fourteenth century, 187; examples of, in Yorkshire, *ib.*; its singular beauty, *ib.*
 Armada, descent of, upon coasts of England, 358; loyal feeling exhibited with regard to it by Roman Catholics, 359
 Armorial bearings in churches, probable origin of, 197
 Articles of Religion, drawn up by Cranmer, 320; revision of Edward VI.'s, 337; modifications made in them, *ib.*; no direct influence exercised by Northern convocation, *ib.*
 ARUNDEL, THOMAS, Archbishop, 189; first Archbishop of York who became Primate of All England, 190
 Aske, Robert, becomes leader of Pilgrimage of Grace, 255; advances upon York, 256; joined by chief nobility and gentry of Yorkshire, 258; his interview with Henry VIII., 263; committed to Tower, 267; execution of, 268
 Athelstan, 97; seeks prayers of clergy of York, *ib.*; makes a vow at Beverley, *ib.*; his victory at Brunanburgh, 98; gives great possessions to churches of York and Ripon, *ib.*
 Augustine, preaching of, 13, 38
 Augustinian canons, foundation of houses of, in Yorkshire, 127
 Austerfield, 76
 Avon, river, 43
 Axholme, Isle of, Carthusian house in, Cranmer's letter to Cromwell respecting, 272
- B.
- BAINBRIGG, Cardinal, Archbishop of York, 228; his end, *ib.*, 229
 Bamburgh, Bebbanburgh, 9; fortress of, 30; church of St. Peter at, 33, 36
 Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, framed Book of Canons, 368
 Barlings, abbot of, *see* Makerell, Thomas
 Barnard Castle, siege of, 345
 Bayeux, Odo, bishop of, 109; Osbert, canon of, Osbert, of *ib.*, 132
 Bebbanburgh, *see* Bamburgh
 Bec, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, 133
 Becket, Thomas à, 133
 Bede, Venerable, his eminence as an historian, 95
 Bellasys, Richard, an assistant commissioner with Layton and Legh, 271
 Benedictine rule, restoration of, in Northumbria, 114-116; encouraged by Thomas of Bayeux, 116
 Bernicia, 9, 11, 12, 20, 24, 27, 28, 34, 43, 62

- Bertwald, Archbishop, successor to Theodore, 76, 78, 80
 Berwick, 344
 Bessarion, Archbishop of Nicæa 222
 Betti, 39
 Beverley, Beverlac, Pedwarlech, 84, 85, 97, 98; manor of, alienated to the Crown, 290; minster of, 187; St. John of, bishop of Hexham, 66, 74, 80, 84; his pupils, 84; his work at, 84, 85; his death, 85; his canonisation, 101
 Bible, English version of, request of convocation at Cranmer's instance that Henry VIII. would authorise its general use, 284; the Great, set up in churches, 285
 Bidding-prayer, antiquity of its use, 287; instruction given by it, *ib.*
 Bigod, Sir Francis, rash action of, 264, 266, 267
 Bishop-Burton, manor of, alienated to the Crown, 290
 Bishoprics, founded by Henry VIII., 275
 Bishopthorpe, 146, 211
 Bocher, Joan, her execution urged on Edward VI. by Cranmer, 330
 Boleyn, Anne, her marriage with Henry VIII., 240; her coronation, 241
 Bolton Abbey, 187; traditions about, 127, 128
 Boniface, Archdeacon, 47
 Bontemps, M., pastor of the settlers in Hatfield Chase, 375
 BOOTH, Archbishop, 211
 Boroughbridge, battle of, 164
 Bosa, Abbot of Whitby, made Bishop of York, 62, 64, 66, 74; reinstated as Bishop of York, 75; his death, 80
 Bosham, monastery at, 69
 Bowles, Mr. Edward, leader of Nonconformists, withdrew after Act of Uniformity passed, 393; high esteem in which he was held, *ib.*; his career, 394
 Bowes, Sir George, 344; surrenders Barnard Castle, 345; Sir Robert, 259
 BOWET, Archbishop of York, fabric of Minster carried on towards completion in his time, 196; profuse hospitality of, 200; warlike spirit of, *ib.*; death of, *ib.*
 Bradley, Marmaduke, Prebendary of Ripon and Abbot of Fountains, 245, 246; his contribution to restoration of great tower of Ripon Minster, 292
 Breviary, offices contained in, 301; used by devout laymen, 304; Cardinal Quignon's revision of, 307; sanctioned by Pope Clement VII., *ib.*; Prayer-book indebted to it for portion of preface and probably idea of table of lessons, *ib.*
 Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, his report of his diocese, 378
 Bridlington, Prior of, tries to make terms with Cromwell, 244
 Brigantes, tract of country occupied by, 6; Roman occupation of, *ib.*
 Britain, Mid, five English states of, 12
 Brownists, sect of, first actual separatists, 361

Bruges, conference at, 175
 Brune, Robert de, his English writings, 171
 Brus, Robert de, 127
 Buckingham, Stafford, Duke of, 267
 Bulls, papal, statute forbidding their recognition, 352
 Bulmer, Sir John, arrest of, 267; execution of, *ib.*; Lady, burnt in Smithfield, *ib.*
 Burgh, 119
 Burleigh, Lord, orders sermons to be preached once a week to recusants in York Castle, 359

C.

CADWALLA, makes descent upon Isle of Wight, 72
 Cadwallon, King of North Wales, 23; his atrocities, *ib.*; makes himself master of Northumbria, 24, 27; his overthrow and death, 28
 Cædmon, monk of Whitby, his poetic gifts, 66, 67
 Caistor, 252
 Calatonia, district of, 43
 Calder, river, 6
 Calixtus, Pope, his action with reference to Archbishop Thurstan's refusal to yield to Canterbury, 124
 Calverley, Joan, 247
 Calvert, Thomas, great Oriental scholar, 394
 Campeggio, Cardinal, comes to England to try divorce, 235, 236
 Campodunum, 20
 Canons, book of, drawn up by Bancroft and ratified by James I., 368; very obnoxious to Puritans, *ib.*

Canons, secular, origin of, 90
 Canterbury, 25
 Carlisle, 265; see of, erected, 131; incursions of Scots hinder bishop entering his diocese, *ib.*
 Carthusians, number of their houses in Yorkshire, 186
 Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, his letter to Dean of York, 401
 Catechism, Poynt's, 321
 Cathedrals, statutes relating to, 413; changes made by them in York Minster, *ib.*
 Catherine of Braganza, gave pastoral staff to Bishop James Smith, 402
 Catterick, 26
 Cawood Castle, 386
 Cedd, 39, 41; Bishop of Lindisfarne, *ib.*; takes part in synod of Whitby, 49; founded monastery of Lastingham, *ib.*; dies there, 52
 Celestine, Pope, his commission of inquiry about Archbishop Geoffry, 137
 Celibacy of clergy, discussion in Convocation respecting, 313; acts passed about it, *ib.*
 Ceonwulf, King of Northumbria, 86, 87
 CHAD, Abbot of Lastingham, consecrated to see of York. 54; his diligence, *ib.*; retired from York, 57; made Bishop of Lichfield, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*
 Chantries, foundation of at York and elsewhere, 148
 Chantry-lands, wrong done by their confiscation, 312, 313
 Charles I., accession of, 372; his interest in Church mat-

- ters, 377, 380; keeps his Maunday at York, 379; beheaded, 389
- Charles II., Restoration of, 391
- Charterhouse, Houghton, Prior of, hanged for opposing King's supremacy, 243
- Chaucer, his picture of country parson, 185
- Chester, 12; Victory of Ethel-frith at, 9
- Cheviot, 20
- Church, the Columban, its form and discipline, 44, 45
- Church, the, corruption of, when Lollardism prevailed, 184; characteristics of, in the 18th century, 409; work carried on at present time in, 414
- Cistercian order, rise of in Yorkshire, 128
- Clement, Pope, 135; VI., Pope, his letter to Archbishop Zouche at time of "the Black Death," 166
- Clergy, ejection of, 390
- Cleveland, musters made in, 264, 267
- Clifford, Sir Thomas, 265; Lady Eleanor, 257
- Coifi, destroys idol shrine at Goodmanham, 18
- Coldingham, 61, 65
- Colt, John, Dean of St. Paul's, his early connexion with York Minster, 222; friendship with Erasmus, *ib.*, 223; views as to reformation of Church, 223; his preaching, *ib.*; Erasmus, description of his private life, 224; sermon before convocation, 225; charged with heresy, *ib.*; supported by the King and Archbishop Warham, *ib.*; founds St. Paul's School, 226; Erasmus's description of the school, *ib.*, 227
- Collegiate foundations, chantries and gilds, suppression of, 292
- Colman, Bishop, 45; takes part in synod of Whitby, 49; resigns Lindisfarne, 52; founds monastery in Ireland, *ib.*; dies there, *ib.*
- Comber, Dr., part taken by him in revival of weekly Communion in York Minster, 399, 400; his opposition to James II.'s Declaration, 401
- Common Prayer, Edward VI.'s first book of, 313; sources of, 314; authorised by Act of Parliament, *ib.*; account of, 315, 316; insurrections after its introduction, 316; assailed by foreign Protestants, 317; second book of, account of, 318, 320; revival of in Elizabeth's reign, 334; its chief characteristics, 335; Puritan antipathy to it, 338; use of it forbidden, 388; Neal's remarks on this, 388, 389; revival of it ordered in 1661, 392; its completion and approval, *ib.*
- Constable, Sir Marmaduke, his report of strength of insurgents, 258; Sir Robert, 260, 263
- Constantine, King of Scots, 97
- Conventicles, Act against, 397, reluctantly passed by House of Lords, *ib.*
- Convocations, Northern and

- Southern, met for joint deliberation, 143; large payments required from clergy after Wolsey's condemnation, 237; great hesitation of York Convocation as to acknowledging King's supremacy, 238; statute forbidding assemblage of, without Royal licence, 242; their acceptance of Royal supremacy, *ib.*, 243; allowed to meet for consultative purposes, 413; Northern, formal meeting only allowed by Archbishop Musgrave, 413; consultative meetings restored under Archbishop Longley, *ib.*
- Corman, 29
- Cosin, John, Archdeacon, his Visitation Articles, 371; his sermon at Leeds, 373
- Courtenay, Archbishop, prosecutes Wycliffe, 179
- Coventry, 188
- Coverdale's Bible, printing of, 284
- Cranmer, Archbishop, succeeds Warham, 239; his previous history, *ib.*; takes oath of canonical obedience to Pope, 240; wrote preface to Great Bible, 285
- Cromwell, Thomas, his early history, 238; suggests repudiation of papal jurisdiction, 239; appointed Vicar General, 244; sends commissioners to examine monastic houses, *ib.*
- Culdees, Canons of York called, 91
- Cumberland, Earl of, 344
- Cuthbert, St., made Bishop of Hexham, 71; allowed to remain at Lindisfarne, *ib.*;
- King gives him Creyke, city of Carlisle and territory of Cartmel, *ib.*
- Cwenburga, Edwin's first wife, 13
- Cwichelm, sends assassin to slay Edwin, 14
- D.
- DAMASCUS, Archbishop of, suffragan to Archbishop Zouche, 166
- Danby, Lord, 402
- Danes, incursions of, 95, 96
- Danish names of places, 96; blood, bishops of, 99
- Darcy, of Templehurst, Lord, 255, 256; a leader in Pilgrimage of Grace, 257, 258, 262, 263; execution of, 267; Sir Arthur, 270; his account of Jervaulx Abbey, *ib.*; grant of Selby made to, 271;
- Death, the Black, 165, 166
- Declarations, James II.'s, ill received in diocese of York, 401, 402
- Deira, 9; conquest of, *ib.*, 11, 12, 20, 28, 34, 43, 47, 62
- Deniseburn, 28
- Derwent, river, 6, 47, 104
- Dicul, 69
- Diocesan rule, ceases in Yorkshire, 389
- Directory for public worship, establishment of, 388
- Dispensations for marriage, frequency of, 212
- Dissent, commencement of, 361
- Diuma, 39
- Doctrine, two Manuals of, issued, 285
- DOLBEN, Archbishop, his early life, 396, 397; anxious to

- raise character of Minster clergy, 399; orders Weekly Communion, *ib.*; his death 401
- Domesday survey, 113
- Don, river, 6
- Doncaster, 20
- Dorchester, 66
- Douay, college of, 352; its objects, 353; its numbers, *ib.*
- Driffeld, 80, 119
- Dromore, Nicholas, Bishop of, 211; William, Bishop of, *ib.*
- Dunstan, 98
- Durham, church of St. Nicholas at, 157
- Dymoke, Mr., 252
- E.
- EADBALD, 13
- Eadbert, Bishop of Hexham, 74
- Eadfrid, son of Edwin, 13; baptised by Paulinus, 20; murdered by Penda, 23; bishop, 80
- Eadhed, Bishop of Ripon, 62, 64, 74
- Eadwulf, 80
- EANBALD, Archbishop, 92; II., Archbishop, 93; state of diocese in his time, *ib.*
- Eanflæda, Queen, 36, 37, 46, 48
- Eanfrid, 24; put to death by Cadwallon, *ib.*, 27
- Easington, church of, 297
- East Anglia, 42
- Eata, Abbot of Ripon, and of Lindisfarne, 48, 52, 62, 71
- Ebba, Abbess of Coldingham, 65
- Eboracum, *see* York
- Ecgrif, 61; his campaign against the Picts, 71; slain at Nechtansmere, *ib.*
- Eddi, biographer of Wilfrid, 55, 59, 60
- Edinburgh, 11
- Edmund, 98
- Edred, 98
- Edward the Elder, 97; the Confessor, 101; his death, 103
- Edward VI., accession of, 308; injunctions issued to clergy, 309; special injunctions to Dean and Chapter of York, *ib.*, 310; changes in Minster services, *ib.*; repeals statutes against Lollards, 311; power given to Crown to appoint bishops by letters patent, *ib.*; act against vagabonds, *ib.*; his death, 324
- Edwin, King, his dream or vision, 10; his government 11; marries Ethelburga, 13; attempt to assassinate him, 14; history of his conversion, 15-18; erects church at York, 18; his baptism, *ib.*; slain at Hæthfeld, 23; buried at Whitby, 24; Earl, 104, heads an insurrection against William the Conqueror, 105, 108
- EGBERT, Archbishop, 2, 86; appointed by Ceolwulf, *ib.*; Bede's letter to, 86, 87; receives pall from Rome, 87; his works, 87, 88; founds school and library at York, 88; first prelate who had mint at York, 89; his death, *ib.*
- Egremond, boy of, 127
- Ejected ministers, sympathy felt for, 394, 395

Elfreda, Abbess, 74, 80
 Elfwy, 115
 Elizabeth, Queen, accession of, 332; royal supremacy re-established, 333; oath refused by all the bishops except one, 334
 Ella, King of Deira, 9
 Ellerker, Sir Ralph, 259
 Elmete, 12
 Ely, 61
 England, became one kingdom under William the Conqueror, 108
 Eoforwic, *see* York.
 Eorpwald, 22
 Erasmus, 222, 224, 225, 226; made Margaret Professor of Divinity, 227, 228
 Erconbart, King of Kent, 46
 Erconwald, 73
 Eric, son of Harold Blaatand, 98
 Ermenburga, Queen, second wife of Ecgrid, 61; her hatred to Wilfrid, *ib.*; taken ill at Coldingham, 65; retires into a monastery after Ecgrid's death, 71, 72
 Ethelbert, King of Kent, 13
 Ethelburga, Queen, 13, 14; gives birth to a daughter, 14; flight into Kent, 25
 Ethelfrid, 24, 27
 Ethelfrith, 9, 10; defeated by Redwald, 11
 Ethelred, King of Mercia, 69, 77, 78; becomes Abbot of Bardney, 79; succeeded by Kenred as King of Mercia, *ib.*
 Etheldreda, Queen, gives land at Hexham to Wilfrid, 59; takes the veil at Coldingham, 61; becomes abbess of Ely, *ib.*
 Ethelric, 9

Ethelwalch, King of Sussex, 69; receives Wilfrid, *ib.*; gives him land at Selsey, 70; his death, 72
 Ethelwin, 35
 Eugenius I., Pope, 47
 Evesham, monastery of, 115

F.

FAIRFAX, Lord, 387, 388; his bequest to Matthew Poole, 394
 Farnley, rendezvous of insurgents after Act of Uniformity passed, 395; severe repressive measures, *ib.*
 Fenton, stall of, 160
 Ferne, Dr., 386
 Finan, Bishop, 38, 39, 41; his death, 45
 Fisher, bishop of Rochester, his connexion with York diocese, 227; Erasmus' estimate of his character, *ib.*; confessor to Countess of Richmond, *ib.*; 231; beheaded, 243
 FITZHERBERT, WILLIAM (S. William of York) archbishop, election of, disputed, 131; retires, 132; restored, *ib.*; welcomed by the people, *ib.*; supposed to be poisoned, *ib.*; canonisation of, 133
 Fleming, Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, 216
 Forster, Sir John, 344
 Forth, Firth of, 9, 11, 43
 Foston, church of, 163
 Fountains Abbey, foundation of, 129, 187; wealth of, 273, 274; extent of domain and amount of live stock, 274; landed estates of, *ib.*; project of Henry VIII. for

- founding a bishopric of, 275, 276; Marmaduke Bradley, abbot of, 245, 246; William Thirsk, abbot of, his delinquencies, 245; his execution, 267
 Franciscan order, settlement of, in England, 150; receive grant at York from Henry III., 151; their popularity, numbers, and mode of working, 153; social influence, 154; style of preaching, 155; learning discredited by them, but afterwards cultivated, 156; ceased to observe vow of poverty, *ib.*
 Freez, Frees, Frederick, earliest printer established in York, 220, 283; Gerard, brother of, 221; Valentine, and his wife, burnt at York, 283; Edward, brother of, *ib.*
 Fricsland, 63
 Fulford, Water, 103
 Fulthorpe, Sir William, 192; condemns Archbishop Scrope, *ib.*
 G.
 GAETANO, Cardinal, 164
 Gai, plain of, 43
 Gant, Walter le, 127
 Gascoigne, Chief Justice, 192; refuses to condemn Archbishop Scrope, *ib.*
 Gateshead, monastery at, 36
 Gaunt, John of, his influence after death of Black Prince, 175, 176; his support of Wycliffe, 176
 Gedling, church of, 297
 GEOFFREY (PLANTAGENET) Archbishop, 136; his birth and early career, *ib.*; becomes Archbishop, *ib.*; feuds between him and Bishop Pudsey, *ib.*, 137; dissensions with dean and chapter of York, 137; accused of neglect of spiritual duties, *ib.*; gives kind reception to Eustace de Flay, 138; his relations with King John, 139; retires into Normandy, where he dies, *ib.*
 GERARD, Archbishop, 119; comes into collision with Anselm about submission to Canterbury, *ib.*; endows additional stalls in York Minster, *ib.*
 GIFFARD, Archbishop, his attempts to reform abuses, 157
 Gilds, particulars respecting, 204-210
 Gilling (in Richmondshire), monastery at, 35, 37
 Glendale, 20
 Glothaeth, in Carnarvonshire, 386
 Gloucester, St. Oswald's church at, 133; officers of, excommunicated by Archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.*
 Goodmanham, 18
 GRAY, WALTER DE, Archbishop, 140; his early life and preferments, *ib.*; his part as to Great Charter, *ib.*, 141; adviser of Henry III., *ib.*; his Register, *ib.*; state of diocese, *ib.*; Pope's claim to dispose of vacant benefices, 142; discontent as to this and consequent outbreaks in Yorkshire, *ib.*; his policy, 143; his conciliar relations with his chapter, *ib.*; his action as to clerical celibacy, 144; and as to medieties,

145; increases number of chapels or oratories, *ib.*; supported by Gregory IX., 146; gives Bishopthorpe to the see, *ib.*; work at Ripon, *ib.*; founds sub-deanery and sub-chantorship of canons, *ib.*; his work at transept of the minster, 147; founds a chantry, *ib.*; his death, 150
 GREENFIELD, Archbishop, forbids markets to be held in Ripon Minster, 163; prohibits worship of an image of B.V.M. at Foston, *ib.*; action respecting burden laid on clergy of Richmondshire at archdeacon's visitation, 164
 Gregory IX., 142, 146
 Grey, Lady Jane, her brief sovereignty, 325
 Gresham, Sir Richard, buys a large portion of Fountains Abbey lands, 276
 GRINDAL, Archbishop, 347; holds visitation of his diocese, 348; issues injunctions, *ib.*; their strong anti-Roman character, *ib.*; his Puritan sympathies, 349; his directions as to the morning services, 350; orders as to fairs and markets on Sundays, *ib.*; his injunctions to dean and chapter of York, *ib.*, 351; his policy, 351
 Grocyn, 222
 Gunpowder Plot, prejudices against Roman Catholics much inflamed by, 369; followed by requirement of oath of allegiance to the king as temporal sovereign, and by great severity against the Roman Catholics, 370

Gysborowe cum Beverley, project for a bishopric of, 275

II.

HADRIAN, head of monastery near Naples, 55
 Hæthfeld, *see* Hatfield
 Halfdene, takes possession of Northumbria, 96
 Hallam, a confederate of Sir Francis Bigod, 264; taken prisoner, *ib.*; executed, 266
 Hampole, Hermit of, *see* Rolle, Richard
 Hampton Court Conference, result of, 367
 Harold Blaataud, 98; Haradrada, makes descent upon Yorkshire, 103
 Harold, coronation of, 103; attacked by William of Normandy and Earl Tosti, *ib.*; slain at Hastings, 104
 Harrison, Mr. John, builds new church at Leeds, 373
 HARSNETT, Archbishop, his strong feelings against Puritanism, 372, 373; his death, 373
 Hartlepool, Hereteu, 36, 43
 Hatfield, Hæthfeld, 23, 25; Chase, drainage of, 374; French and Flemish settlers in, 375; their religion, *ib.*; apply for leave to build chapel, *ib.*; leave refused by Archbishop Neile, *ib.*
 Harwich, 375
 Haymo, studies under Archbishop Wulstan II., 101
 HEATH, Archbishop, 331; his tolerant character, 332; his influence with Queen Mary, *ib.*; goes into retirement on accession of Elizabeth, 334;

- respect paid him by Elizabeth, *ib.*
- Heavenfield, 28
- Heiu, Abbess, 36, 37
- Henry II., 133; III., 141; writes to Archbishop Gray, 143; IV., his condemnation of Archbishop Scrope, 192; stories relating to, 194; excommunicated by Innocent VII., 195; excommunication taken off by Gregory XII., *ib.*
- Henry VIII., brought into collision with Rome by divorce question, 235; summoned to Rome, 236; proceeds against Wolsey, *ib.*; seizes his palaces, *ib.*; declared Supreme Head on earth of Church of England, 242; rejects all demands for restoration of abbey lands; 262; promises a parliament at York, 263; original intention of, as to monastic property, 274, 275; scheme for a bishopric of Fountains, 275; bishoprics actually founded by, *ib.*; excommunicated by Paul III., 281; death of, 293
- Hereteu, *see* Hartlepool
- Hexham, 27, 59, 60, 66, 74; privilege of Sanctuary at, 60, 64; Prior of, 266; Richard of, 61; shire, 59
- Heywood, Oliver, 394
- Hickes, Dr. George, notice of, 406
- Higden, Dean, 288; stately procession of, on Christmas Day, to the Minster, 306
- Hilda, Abbess of Streoneshalch (Whitby), 18; head of sisterhood at Hereteu, 36, 43, 49; death and character of, 66
- Hilsey, Hildesley, Bishop of Rochester, draws up a Primer, 285
- HOLGATE, ROBERT, Archbishop, his former preferments, 290; remarkable ceremonial when made Archbishop, *ib.*, 291; impoverishes see of York, 292; grants next presentation to stall of Stanwick to Sir Ralph Sadler, 293; sympathy with reforming party, 321; his injunctions to capitular body at York, *ib.*, 322, 323; destroys images in Minster, 323; anxiety about suitable books for library, *ib.*, 324; imprisoned, 327; his release, 330; retires to Hemsworth, *ib.*; his charitable foundations, 331
- Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, 22
- Honorius III., Pope, desires Archbishop Gray to remove married clergy, 144
- Hooker, Richard, "Ecclesiastical Polity" of, 362
- Horncastle, 252, 254
- Hospitals, great number of, 148; arrangements of one at Northallerton, 148-150
- Hotham, Sir John, governor of Hull, 385
- Houghton, Prior, *see* Charterhouse
- Howden, collegiate church of, 187
- Hull, 264, 375; seized by insurgents, 257
- Humber, the, 8, 9, 11, 12, 22, 97
- Hunwald, 35

Hussey, Lord, 253

HUTTON, MATTHEW, Archbishop, previously Dean of York, 348; his feuds with Archbishop Sandys, 363, 364; his character, 366; his death, 369; leaves large estates behind him, *ib.*

I.

IDA, the Flame-bearer, 9

Idle, river, battle on banks of, 11

Institution of a Christian man, 285

Iona, monastery of, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37

Isles, John, Bishop of the, 211

Italy, influx of youths into, for sake of study, 222

J.

JAMES, the Chantor, the Deacon, carries on Paulinus' work in Richmondshire, 26, 27, 39

James I., accession of, 367; constitutes dean and prebendaries at Ripon, *ib.*, 368; requires conformity to Liturgy from all his subjects, 367

James II., accession of, 401; issues declaration for liberty of conscience, *ib.*; its reception by Dean and Chapter of York, *ib.*; issues a second declaration, to be read in all the churches, *ib.*, 402; his contest with the bishops, and their committal to the Tower, 402, 403; leaves his kingdom, 403

Jarrow, 115

Jervaulx, abbey of, forfeited to

the Crown, 270; account of its situation, *ib.*; Abbot of, executed, 267

John VI., Pope, 78; XIII., Pope, 99

John, King, 139, 140, 141

Justus, Archbishop of Canterbury, 14, 22, 38

K.

KATHERINE of Arragon, Queen, 235; cited to appear before Cranmer at Dunstable, 240; her marriage declared void, 241

KEMP, Archbishop, 200

Kenred, 79

Kent, Christianity planted in, 13, 46

Kentwin, 69, 72

Kepier, hospital of, 157

Ker, of Farnihurst, 345

Kettlewell, John, notice of, 406

Kilham, 119

KINSIUS, Archbishop, 101; builder of tower at Beverley, *ib.*; benefactor to Southwell, *ib.*

Kirkham Abbey, 127

Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, took oath of supremacy to Elizabeth, 334

Knaresburgh, council held at, 80

Kyniberger, 39, 42

L.

LAKE, canon residentiary of York, attacked by mob, 398; reason of it, *ib.*

Lambert, a sacramentary, 283

LAMPLUGH, Archbishop, nominated by James II., 403; swore allegiance to William

- and Mary, 406 ; his death, 407
- Lancaster, Earl of, execution of, 164
- Langley, Bishop of Durham, window given to Minster by executors of, 196
- Lastingham, monastery of, 49, 52
- Laud, Archbishop, communications between him and Archbishop Neile about church matters in Northern province, 374 ; his influence with Neile, 381 ; their mode of ruling the clergy, 382 ; their unwise policy, *ib.*, 383 ; execution of, 389
- Laythorpe, church of, 297
- Layton, Dr., appointed to visit monastic houses in Yorkshire, 244 ; his reports to Cromwell, 245, 246 ; receives commission to visit greater monasteries, 269-273 ; sends account to Cromwell of dissolution of greater monasteries, 271-272 ; Richard, 288
- Learning, revival of, 222 ; began in Italy, *ib.*
- LEE, Archbishop, succeeds Wolsey, 237 ; his injunction to treasurer and vicars choral of Ripon Minster, 247 ; his letter to Cromwell on matters connected with visitation of monasteries, 248 ; as to preaching, 249 ; charged with cruelty by Fuller, 283 ; his sympathies, 288 ; new capitular statutes issued in his time, *ib.* ; alienates certain manors to the Crown, 290
- Leeds, 12 ; new church at, 373 ; scene at its consecration, 374 ; proposed division of parish of, 391
- Legate, case of, burnt in James I.'s reign, 383
- Legh, Dr., appointed visitor of monastic houses in Yorkshire, 244
- Leprosy, its prevalence, 150 ; hospitals for those afflicted with, *ib.*
- l'Espece, Walter, 127
- Lilla, 14
- Linacre, 222
- Lincoln, 22 ; Chancellor of, murdered, 253 ; and Lindsey transferred to province of Canterbury, 111 ; shire, 375
- Lindisfarne, island of, 30, 33, 52 ; desolated by the Danes, 92, 95
- Lindsey, Lindisse, 22, 33, 62, 64
- Llandegay, 386
- Loidis, region of, 43
- Lollardism, the Lollards, 183, 184 ; articles against the Church by, 184
- LONGLEY, Dr., first Bishop of Ripon, 412 ; afterwards Bishop of Durham, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury, 413 ; his high character, *ib.*
- Louth, 252
- Lupus, Abbot of Ferrieres, his letter respecting church of York, 96, 97 ; mentions library at York, 97
- Lutterworth, rectory of, 175 ; Wycliffe dies at, 180
- Lyons, 46, 47
- M.
- MAKERELL, THOMAS, Abbot of Barlings, 252, 254

- Malcolm, King of Scotland, 108
- Man, Isle of, 12
- Manchester, Earl of, 387
- Marches, the East, 344
- Mar-prelate publications, result of, 361
- Marston Moor, battle of, 387
- Mary, Queen, accession of, 325; re-establishes the mass, *ib.*; all acts passed in Edward VI.'s reign about religion repealed, *ib.*; failed to effect restoration of monastic property, except some which was in the hands of the Crown, 327; persecution carried on by, 328; provocation given her by reforming party, *ib.*; her death, 332; character, *ib.*
- Mary, Queen of Scots, 340; sympathy for, 342; suggestion made by Bishop Sandys for taking her life, 354
- Maserfield, 33
- Mass-books, &c., revision of, ordered by the king, 285
- Matthew's Bible, use of, allowed, 285
- MATHEW, TOBY, Archbishop, 369; his eloquence, *ib.*; genial character, *ib.*; his death, 372
- Melrose, 48, 59
- MELTON, Archbishop, 164; forays of Scotch in his time, *ib.*; rout of Myton on Swale, *ib.*; his completion of nave of York, 165; his work at Beverley, *ib.*
- Meschines, William of, 127
- Mercia, 69
- Merser, Thomas, Canon Residentiary of York, item in account roll of, 286
- Michel, Dan, his poem in English, 171
- Middle classes, development amongst, 218, 219
- Millenary petition, 367
- Monastic orders, their industry as agriculturists, 151; their mines and furnaces, 152; great wealth of, *ib.*
- Monasteries, state of, as reported by the visitors, 245-247; popular feeling as to suppression of smaller, 250; fall of the greater, 269; reasons which led to their destruction, 279; pensions assigned to inmates of, 272, 273
- Monkbridge, hospital at, 159
- MONTAIGNE, Archbishop, his brief archiepiscopate, 372
- Morcar, Earl, joins in insurrection against William the Conqueror, 104, 105, 108
- More, Sir Thomas, beheaded, 243
- Morton, Bishop of Durham, his report of his diocese, 378
- Mulgrave Castle, 264
- Mount Grace, priory of, 185, 186
- MURDAC, HENRY, Archbishop, 131, 132
- Muriel, mother of Thomas of Bayeux, 109
- Myton on Swale, rout at, 164; the chapter of, *ib.*

N.

- Naseby, battle of, 389
- Nechtansmere, 71
- Negropont, John, Bishop of, 211
- NEILE, Archbishop, 373; suspends Mr. Todd, 374; his

- dealings with foreign settlers in Hatfield Chase, 375 ; sends reports to the king about state of diocese, sums collected for repairs of churches, &c., 377, 378 ; refuses to consecrate private chapels, 381 ; vindicates persecution, 383 ; John, ejected from his benefices, 390 ; became dean of Ripon, *ib.*
- NEVILLE, ALEXANDER, Archbishop, 189 ; quarrels with canons of York and Beverley, *ib.* ; surrenders see of York, *ib.* ; translated to St. Andrews ; Scots refuse to receive him ; dies in poverty at Louvain, *ib.* ; GEORGE, Archbishop, his enthronisation feast, 201 ; Scottish jurisdiction taken from York in his time, *ib.* ; injunctions to his clergy, *ib.* ; his death, 203
- Nicæa, Archbishop of, *see* Besarion.
- Nicholas III., Pope, 160 ; gives away stall of Fenton at York, *ib.*
- Nidderdale, lead mines in, belonging to Fountains Abbey, 274
- Nonconformists, severe dealings with, 397, 398
- Non-jurors, origin of, 405 ; number in diocese of York, 406
- Norfolk, Duke of, sent to quell Pilgrimage of Grace, 258 ; gets country under control, 265 ; severe treatment of rebels, 266 ; aspires to hand of Mary, Queen of Scots, 342 ; sent to the Tower, *ib.*
- Northallerton, hospital at, 148 ; grammar school of, 406
- Northmen, fusion of, with population of Northumbria, 99
- Northumberland, Henry, Earl of, 258 ; his enterprise against Elizabeth, 340 ; betrayed to Regent Murray, 345 ; beheaded at York, *ib.*
- Northumbria, 9, 11, 13, 23, 24, 30
- Norton, Richard, joins insurrection under command of Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, 343 ; Camden's description of, *ib.* ; escapes to Flanders, 345 ; fate of his sons, 346
- Nottingham, 253
- O.
- ODO, Archbishop of Canterbury, 99
- Offor, Bishop of Worcester, 66
- Orange, Prince of, intervention of, sought by Lord Danby and others, 403 ; his landing, *ib.*
- Osfrid, 13 ; baptised by Paulinus, 20 ; slain at Hæthfeld, 23
- OSKYTEL, Archbishop of York, 99
- Osred, 80
- Osric, cousin of Edwin, 24
- Oswald, St., King and martyr, 27 ; overcomes Cadwallon, 28 ; rules over Bernicia and Deira, 28 ; his care for his people, 29, 31 ; completes basilica at York, 31 ; character of, 32 ; falls in battle at Maserfield, 33 ; his canonisation, *ib.* ; archbishop, 99

- Oswestry, 33
 Oswin, King of Deira, 34 ;
 retires to Gilling, 35 ; mur-
 dered, *ib.* ; Bede's character
 of, *ib.* ; buried at Tyne-
 mouth, 37 ; canonised, *ib.*
 Oswy, King of Bernicia, 34-36 ;
 his marriage, 37 ; founds
 monastery at Gilling, *ib.*, 41 ;
 his vow, 42 ; his victory over
 Penda, *ib.* ; founds twelve
 monasteries, 43 ; places his
 daughter Elfred under care
 of Hilda, *ib.*, 48 ; presides
 at synod of Whitby, 49-51 ;
 his death, 61
 Ouse, River, 8
 Oustrefelda, synod at, 76, 77
 Oxford, Baliol College in, 174 ;
 Lincoln College in, founda-
 tion of, 216

P.

- PALLIUM, origin of, 291
 Parish churches in Yorkshire,
 condition of in fifteenth cen-
 tury, 214 ; lax conduct of
 their incumbents, 213, 214
 Parish Registers, Cromwell's
 orders for keeping of, 276-
 278
 Parker, Matthew, made Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, 336
 Parochial system, anterior to
 Norman Conquest, 113
 Paschal controversy, 38, 39
 Paul III., Pope, excommuni-
 cates Henry VIII., 281
 PAULINUS, 2 ; accompanies
 Queen Ethelburga to North-
 umbria, 13 ; his consecration,
 14 ; his personal aspect, *ib.*,
 his preaching to Edwin and
 his court, 17 ; his missionary
 labours in Northumbria, 19-
 22 ; made Bishop of York,
 20 ; accompanies Ethelburga
 in her flight, 25 ; made
 Bishop of Rochester, *ib.* ;
 receives information that the
 Pope had conferred the pal-
 lium upon him, 25 ; his
 death, *ib.*
 Peada, his conversion and bap-
 tism, 39, 42
 Pedwarllech, *see* Beverley.
 Penda, King of Mercia, invades
 Northumbria and encounters
 Edwin at Hæthfeld, 23 ; his
 hatred to Christianity, 33 ;
 attacks Bamburgh Castle,
 34 ; falls at Winuædfield, 42
 Penal statutes against Roman
 Catholics, 354, 355
 Percy, Sir Henry, 344 ; Serlo
 de, Prior of Whitby, 116 ;
 Sir Thomas, 258, 267 ; Wil-
 liam de, 116
 Pharos, William, Bishop of,
 211
 Pickering, 119
 PIERS, Archbishop, 365
 Pilgrimage of Grace, its causes,
 251 ; outburst of, 252 ; ac-
 count of, 252-268 ; anxiously
 watched at Rome, 266
 Pius II., Pope (Æneas Syl-
 vius), his description of York
 Minster ; 198 ; V., Pope, ex-
 communicates Queen Eliza-
 beth, 347 ; resentment caused
 by his action, 352
 Pluralities, acts doing away
 with, 412
 Pocklington, 119
 Pole, Michael de la, Earl of
 Suffolk, founds Carthusian
 house at Hull, 186 ; Reginald,
 made cardinal, 266 ; formally
 reconciles nation to see of
 Rome, 326

- Pontefract, castle of, 164 ; parliament and convocation held at, 261, 262
- Pontifical, scarcity of copies of, 304 ; Egbert's, 305 ; Card. Bainbrigg's, *ib.*
- PONT L'EVÊQUE, Archbishop Roger de, 133 ; conflict with Archbishop of Canterbury, *ib.* ; controversies with Scottish bishops, 134 ; love of building, 135 ; architectural work at York and Ripon, *ib.*
- Poole, Matthew, author of "Synopsis Criticorum," 394
- Portiforium, *see* Breviary
- Potter, Bishop of Carlisle, his report of his diocese, 378
- Premunire, act of, 170
- Preaching, stringent injunctions as to subjects of, 249
- Primers, publication of, 285, 286 ; early use of the word, 287
- Printing, early introduction of, in York, 219 ; put an end to craft of Text-writers, *ib.* ; prepared way for New Learning, 221
- Province, Northern, state of, in Charles I.'s reign, 378
- Provisors, statute of, 143, 170
- Puch, Earl, 85
- Pudsay, Hugh, Bishop of Durham, 135 ; his feuds with Archbishop Geoffrey and the Dean and Canons of York, 136, 137
- Puritan party, Puritanism, antipathy of, to Elizabeth's Prayer-book, 338 ; lawlessness in celebrating Divine worship, 339 ; orders given for uniformity, *ib.* ; little hold of, in North of England, during Elizabeth's reign, 340 ; unreasonable demands of, 361 ; great hold gained in Yorkshire by, at the beginning of 17th century, 373
- PUTTIC, ALFRIC, Archbishop, benefactor to church of Beverley, 101
- Q.
- QUAKERS, prominent part taken by, in political and religious demonstrations, 395 ; abounded in Yorkshire, 396
- R.
- REBELLION of 1569, objects of, 340 ; progress of, 342 ; dispersion of insurgents, and flight of their leaders, 345 ; number of rebels executed, 346
- Recusants, severe treatment of, in James I.'s reign, 370 ; sermons preached to, in York Castle, 359
- Redwald, King of East Anglia, 10 ; protects Edwin, *ib.* ; tempted to murder him, *ib.* ; 22
- Reformation of the Church, work done as regards it in Henry VIII.'s reign, 284 ; adverse feeling to, in North of England, 340 ; testimony of Sir Ralph Sadler, *ib.*
- Reformatio Legum, 321
- Reformers, German, overtures made by, with view to common formula of faith, 281
- Reforming party, took refuge abroad in Mary's reign, 327 ; names of chief of them, *ib.*
- Reinfrid, 115 ; gathers a com-

- munity together at Whitby, 116
- Retford, 11
- Revolt, the Peasant, account of, 181-184
- Richmond in Yorkshire, 174; archdeaconry of, 114; extent of, *ib.*; archdeacon of, *see* Gaetano, Cardinal; Alan, Earl of, 116; Margaret, Countess of, 227, 231; — shire, 178
- Rievaulx Abbey, 187; Abbot of, refuses to recognise jurisdiction of visitors, 244
- Ripon, monastery of, given to Wilfrid, 47, 48; destroyed, 98; canons of, mentioned in Domesday, 114; chapter of, 163; Minster of, 187; its suppression not contemplated by Henry VIII., 293; Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene at, 293; Hospital of St. John Baptist at, *ib.*; formation of *see* of, 412; district assigned, *ib.* Dr. Longley, first bishop of, *ib.*
- Ritual, the ancient, attachment of Henry VIII. to, 293
- Robinson, vicar of Leeds, ejected, 390
- Rochester, 22; church of St. Andrew at, 25
- Rolle, Richard, hermit of Hampole, account of life and writings of, 166, 167, 171
- Romans, the, occupation of Yorkshire by, 6; traces existing, *ib.*, 7; little trace of Christianity amongst them, 7; power of, and its decline, 8; retirement of, *ib.*
- Romanus, Bishop of Rochester, 22; chaplain to Queen Ean-
fleda, 48, 49; John, his work at York Minster, 147; Archbishop, his work at the minster, 158; resists papal provisions, 160; his feuds with dean and canons, *ib.*; quarrel referred to the king, *ib.*; mode of visitation of chapter settled by arbitration, 161; his struggle with Bishop Bec, *ib.*
- Roman Catholics, their repugnance to compulsory attendance at Church of England services, 352; persecution of, in Elizabeth's reign, 356, 358; rigorous enforcement of penal statutes against, 398, 399
- Romillé, Cecilia, 127
- Ross, John, Bishop of, 211
- ROTHERHAM, THOMAS, Archbishop, 216, 217; founds college at Rotherham, 216

S.

- SADLER, SIR RALPH, 293, 340, 342
- Sancroft, Archbishop, deprivation of, 407
- Sandtoft, chapel built at, for French and Flemish settlers, 376
- SANDYS, Archbishop, his suggestion for taking the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, 354; his visitation of Northern Province, 363; objects to Dean Whittingham as not episcopally ordained, *ib.*; his feud with Dean Hutton, *ib.*, 364; his death and character, 365
- Sarum, Use of, prevailed gene-

- rally in Southern Province, 294; drawn up by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, 296; occasional introduction of, in diocese of York, 297
- SAVAGE, Archbishop, 228
- Savoy Conference, 392
- Sawley, Trafford, Abbot of, hanged at Lancaster, 266
- Saxton, Peter, Vicar of Leeds, 390
- Scarborough, 264
- Scheldt, river, 374
- Scotland, 27
- Scottish sees, declared independent of all authority except that of Rome, 135
- SCROPE, RICHARD, Archbishop, 189, 211; his descent, 190; joins Earl of Northumberland and Earl Marshal against Hen. IV., 191, 192; arrested and condemned to death by command of the king, *ib.*; account of his execution, 193; feeling of the people, *ib.*, 195; buried in the minster, 194; popular veneration at his tomb, 195; treasonable character of his acts, *ib.*; of Bolton, Richard, Lord, 190; of Masham, Henry, first Lord, 190; Lord, 344
- Selby, Abbey of, Abbey church of, endowed by William the Conqueror, 116; a mitred abbey, *ib.*, 119, 187; abbot, laxity of his conduct, 157
- Selsey, 70
- Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, 171
- Sergius, Pope, 76
- SHARP, Archbishop, 408; excellence of his character, *ib.*
- Shaw, Vicar of Rotherham, 394
- Shrewsbury, Lord, 253; advances to Doncaster, 258; Duke of Norfolk sent to assist, *ib.*; Earl of, 340
- Sigebert the Good, conversion of, 41
- Sixtus IV., Pope, makes St. Andrews an archiepiscopal see, 201
- Six Articles, statute of, 282; persecution under, 283; severity of its working modified by Cranmer's influence, 284
- Skidby, manor of, alienated to the Crown, 290
- Skipton Castle, story of attack by insurgents upon, 257
- Slingsby, Margaret of, becomes a vowess, 211
- Smith, James, bishop *in partibus*, his entry into York, 402; pastoral staff of silver wrested from him, *ib.*, staff now in minster vestry, *ib.*
- Snaith, 119
- Sodor and Man, Bishop of, his report of his diocese, 378
- Southwell, 22, 101; canons of, 114; privileges obtained by church of, 121; manor of, alienated to the Crown, 290
- Stamford, 47; Bridge, battle of, 104; traditions of, *ib.*
- Stephen, reconstructs abbey of York, 116
- Sterne, Archbishop, 396
- Streoneshalch (Whitby), synod held at, 48
- Suffolk, Duke of, brings king's answer to insurgents, 254; takes Lincoln, 256
- Supremacy, the Royal, recognised by the two convoca-

tions, several bishops, capitular bodies, and monasteries, 243; strenuously opposed by Carthusians, *ib.*

Surrey, Thomas Holand, Duke of, founder of Carthusian house at Mount Grace, 186

Sussex, Earl of, sent to quell the insurrection of 1569, 343; his directions to Sir George Bowes as to execution of rebels, 346

Swale, the river, 26

Swidbert, 75

T.

TEES, river, 9

Test Act, passing of, 397; repeal of, 412

Teutonic nations, religious belief of, 21

Theodore, Archbishop, of Canterbury, 55; his great ability, *ib.*, 56; makes a visitation of Northumbria, *ib.*; his plans for partition of great diocese of York, 62; consecrates three additional bishops, *ib.*; appoints two more bishops, 64; exercises power as primate of all England, 71; expresses wish for Wilfrid to visit him in London, 73

Tholen, isle of, 374

THOMAS (OF BAYEUX) Archbishop, 109; his love of learning, *ib.*; goes to Rome to receive his pall, 110; lays question of subjection of York to Canterbury before the Pope, *ib.*; Pope refers it to a national synod, 111; arrangements as to boundaries of diocese, *ib.*; state

in which he found the minster of York, *ib.*, 112; his energy in reorganising and rebuilding, 112; places a Dean at head of canons, *ib.*; provides for increase in number of canons, 113; assigns districts to archdeacons, 114; his death, 118

THOMAS II., Archbishop, 119; resists Canterbury's claim to submission, 120; reconstitutes Hexham, 121; founds two stalls at York, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*

THORESBY, JOHN DE, Archbishop, 168; brings controversy between York and Canterbury to final close, 168; disorganisation in his diocese, 169; extent of papal provisions, *ib.*, 170; care for religious instruction of his people, 170, 171; teaching to be given in English, 171; his work at York Minster, 172, 173; his death, 188

Thornton, John, of Coventry, engaged to fill great east window of minster with stained glass, 188

Thriscross, Mr., Archdeacon of Cleveland, 381

THURSTAN, Archbishop, has long disputes about obedience to Canterbury, 123, 124; part taken by, in the Battle of the Standard, 125; seeks to reorganise monastic orders, 127; friend of St. Bernard, *ib.*; founds Fountains Abbey, 128, 130; his anxiety to promote religion, 130; procures erection of see of Carlisle, 131; revives see of Whithorne, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*

Tillotson, appointed to the primacy, 407; his sympathies with Nonconformity, *ib.*; part taken by him in revising common prayer, *ib.*; opposed by Lower House of Convocation, *ib.*

Todd, Mr., incumbent of new church at Leeds, 374; his sermon, *ib.*; his suspension, *ib.*

Tosti, Earl, accompanies Archbishop Aldred to Rome, 102; slain at Stamford Bridge, 104

Trumhere, 37

Trumwine, bishop of Abercorn, 64, 71, 72

Tuda, Bishop of Lindisfarne, 52

Tunbert, Bishop of Hexham, 64; his deposition, 70

Tweed, 22

Tyndale's translation of New Testament, favourably received by most of the bishops, 284; protest against, by Stokesley, Bishop of London, *ib.*

Tyne, valley of, 27

U.

UNIFORMITY, Act of, passed in Elizabeth's reign, 336; Act of, passed in 1662, 393; its results as regarded the Puritans, *ib.*; irritation caused by its working, 395; consequent insurrection near Leeds, *ib.*

Ure, river, 6

Urswick, Christopher, Dean of York, friend of Erasmus, 228

Uses, diocesan, 294; variations in, at discretion of bishops in early times, *ib.*; substantial agreement in, *ib.*

Utta, 36

V.

VANELEY, M. DE, minister of chapel at Sandtoft, 376

Vermuyden, Cornelius, reclaims Hatfield Chase, 374; brings French and Flemish workmen over, *ib.*

Vernatti, Sir Philibert, 374, 375

Vestment controversy, 317

Victor, Pope, 101

Vitalian, Pope, 55

Vowesses, religious profession as, made by widows, 210; mode of reception by archbishop or prelate authorised for purpose, *ib.*; instance of vow made by a woman during husband's life, 211

W.

WALCHER, Bishop of Durham, his interest in revival of Benedictine rule, 115

WALDBY, ROBERT, Archbishop, 189; his learning and works, 190

Warham, Archbishop, 225

Warwick, Earl of, 200, 202, 203, 344

Went, river, 6, 42

Werndly, John Conrad, minister of chapel at Sandtoft, 376; his translation of "Liturgia Tigurina," *ib.*

Wesley, John, rise of his system, 410; his interest in Yorkshire people, *ib.*; hold of his system in Yorkshire, 411; result of his work upon Church of England, *ib.*

Wessex, 69

Westbury, collegiate church of 175

- Westminster Assembly, 387; synod held at, 133; grotesque scene at, respecting claims of York and Canterbury, 134
- Westmoreland, Earl of, enterprise of, 340; his flight into Scotland, 345; his end, *ib.*
- Wetherby, 345
- Whalley, Edmund, Abbot of St. Mary's, York, remonstrates against suppression of smaller monasteries, 231
- Wharfe, river, 6; valley of, 128
- Whitby, 74; synod of, 48, 51
- Whitherne, bishopric of, left under York when Scottish sees were removed from archbishop's jurisdiction, 135; Bishop of, poorly endowed, 163
- WICKWAINE, Archbishop, 157; his reforming zeal, *ib.*; attempts to reform monastery of Durham without success, *ib.*; roughly handled at Durham, *ib.*
- Wickham, Dr. Tobias, Dean of York, 401
- Wighard, 55
- Wight, Isle of, 72, 73; land given to Wilfrid in, 73
- WIGMUND, Archbishop, 96
- WILFRID, ST., early history of, 45, 46, 47; becomes Abbot of Ripon, 48; takes part in synod of Whitby, 49; consecrated to see of York at Compiègne, 53; on returning finds see occupied by Chad, 54; retires to Ripon, 55; studies architecture and church music, *ib.*; takes possession of York on Chad's retirement, 57; restores church of York, *ib.*; builds Ripon minster, 58; crypt there, 59; builds church at Hexham, *ib.*; description of it, 60; his personal habits, *ib.*; appeals to Rome against Theodore's division of his diocese, 63; thrown into prison on his return, 64; banished from Northumbria, 65; evangelises Sussex and becomes Bishop of the South Saxons, 69, 70; goes to visit Theodore, 73; returns to Northumbria, administers see of Lindisfarne, 74; resists Theodore's decrees for partition of diocese of Northumbria, 75; acts as Bishop of Mercia, *ib.*; consecrates Swidbert for Frisian mission, *ib.*; appeals again to Rome, 77; decision of council, 78; falls sick at Meaux, 79; council at Knaresburgh respecting his claims, 80; full claims not admitted, *ib.*; had see of Hexham and monastery of Ripon, *ib.*; latter years of, death, and character, 81-83; II., bishop of York, 66, 85
- William the Conqueror, 104; his landing in Sussex and march to Hastings, *ib.*; defeats Harold, *ib.*; promise exacted at his coronation by Archbishop Aldred, 105; fortifies a castle in York, *ib.*; attacked by Sweyn, King of Denmark, *ib.*; his fury on hearing of the loss of York and slaughter of his garrison, 107; his vengeance, *ib.*; vale of York devastated, 108; his church policy, 108,

- 109, 117; his attitude towards the Pope, 109
- William Rufus, lays foundation-stone of St. Mary's Abbey, York, 116
- William and Mary, proclaimed at York, 404; imposition of oath of allegiance and its results, 405
- WILLIAMS, Archbishop, 375, 385; his eminence in public affairs, *ib.*; brief connexion of, with York, *ib.*; his flight from Cawood, 386; takes refuge in Wales, *ib.*; death of, *ib.*; Peter, 394
- Winchcombe, 114
- Wini, Bishop of Winchester, 54
- Winuædfield, battle of 42, 49
- Wisk, river, 6
- WOLSEY, THOMAS, Cardinal Archbishop, 229-237; early connexion with York, 229; founds colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, 230; suppresses smaller monasteries, *ib.*; uneasy feeling about it, 231; obtains further powers to deal with monastic property, 232; policy as to church reformation, *ib.*, 233; proceedings against him and confiscation of his property, 236; allowed to retain York, *ib.*; his arrest, 237; his death, *ib.*
- Worcester, 66; see of, held in conjunction with York, and policy of Dunstan and Oswald respecting it, 100, 101; Sampson, first Norman Bishop of, 119
- Worde, Wynkyn de, 220, 221
- Wulphere, 72
- WULSTAN, Archbishop, 98; deposition of, 99; II., Archbishop, writings of, 100, 101; his rules called laws of Northumbrian priests, 101; encourages literature, *ib.*
- Wycliffe, John, account of his life and works, 174-181.

Y.

YORK, Yorkshire, county of, shire of, extent of, 3; natural features of, *ib.*; appearance of in early times, 4, 5; traces of its early inhabitants, 6; Roman occupation of, *ib.*; Ebrauc, Eboracum, Eoforwic, city of, its early importance, 1; chief city of Brigantes, 4; great Roman military centre, 6; high rank of, in Roman Britain, 7, 8; state of under the Danes, 99, 100; stormed by the Northmen, 107; commercial, military, and political importance of, 161, 162; siege of, 387; minster of, 158; new nave commenced, *ib.*; source of funds for work at, 159; chapter-house of, 160; progress of work at, after Thoresby's death, 188; glazing of great east window, *ib.*; great tower of, 197; Skirlaw's work at, *ib.*; completion of interior work of, 198; visit of Æneas Sylvius to, *ib.*; completion of western towers of, *ib.*; construction of nave roof of, *ib.*; final completion of, 199; re-dedication of, *ib.*; state of clergy connected with, 213, 214; new statutes for, 288-290; splendour of mediæval services in,

305, 306; care for its services in Archbishop Neile's time, 380; Charles I.'s gifts to, *ib.*; clergy of, their general character at the Restoration period, 395; antipathy of populace of York to them, 398; the Use of, 294-305; opinions as to its origin, 295; peculiarities in, 297-300; Manual according to, 300; printed and manuscript copies of, *ib.*; curious note in a copy in minster library, 301; Breviary according to, 302; its general structure and peculiarities, *ib.*, 303; service books, Archbishop Grindal's order for destruction of, 301; Abbey of St.

Mary's at, land given to, by William Rufus, 116; a mitted abbey, *ib.*; disorders in, 129; withdrawal of certain monks from, and their settlement near Ripon, *ib.*, 130; report of visitors as to, 245

YOUNG, THOMAS, Archbishop of, 336; destroyed great hall of Bishopthorpe, 347; John, Dean of York, 228

Z.

ZOUCHE, WILLIAM LA, Archbishop, 165; one of the commanders at Neville's Cross, *ib.*; his energetic action when "the Black Death" reached his diocese, *ib.*

THE END.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

THE

FATHERS FOR ENGLISH READERS.

A Series of Monographs on the Chief Fathers of the Church, the
Fathers selected being centres of influence at important
periods of Church History and in important
spheres of action.

Fcap. 8vo., cloth boards, 2s. each.

LEO THE GREAT.

By the Rev. CHARLES GORE, M.A.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

By the Rev. J. BARMBY, B.D.

SAINT AMBROSE: his Life, Times, and Teaching.

By the Rev. ROBINSON THORNTON, D.D.

SAINT AUGUSTINE.

By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, B.A.

SAINT BASIL THE GREAT.

By the Rev. RICHARD T. SMITH, B.D.

SAINT JEROME.

By the Rev. EDWARD L. CUTTS, B.A.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

By the Rev. H. S. HOLLAND.

THE DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH; or, The Christian Apologists of the Second and Third Centuries.

By the Rev. F. WATSON, M.A.

THE VENERABLE BEDE.

By the Rev. G. F. BROWNE.

- Alone with God; or, Helps to Thought and Prayer.* s. d.
For the Use of the Sick; based on short passages
of Scripture. By the Rev. F. BOURDILLON, M.A.,
Author of "Lesser Lights." 12mo.Cloth boards 1 0
- Being of God, Six Addresses on the.*
By C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and
Bristol. Small post 8vo.Cloth boards 1 0
- Bible Places; or, The Topography of the Holy Land.*
By the Rev. Canon TRISTRAM. With Map and nume-
rous Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards 4 0
- Christians under the Crescent in Asia.*
By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, B.A., Author of "Turning-
Points of Church History," &c. With numerous
Illustrations. Crown 8vo.Cloth boards 5 0
- Church History, Sketches of,*
During the first Six Centuries. By the Rev. J. C.
ROBERTSON. Part I. With Map. 12mo. Cloth boards 1 0
----- Part II., From the
Seventh Century to the Reformation. 12mo. Cloth bds. 1 0
Parts I. and II. in a volume.....Cloth boards 2 0
- Daily Readings for a Year.*
By ELIZABETH SPOONER. Crown 8vo. ...Cloth boards 3 6
- Englishman's Brief, The,*
On behalf of his National Church. New, revised, and
enlarged edition. Small post 8vo.....Cloth boards 2 0
- Gospels, The Four,*
Arranged in the Form of an English Harmony, from
the Text of the Authorized Version. By the Rev. J. M.
FULLER, M.A. With Analytical Table of Contents
and four Maps. Post 8vo.Cloth boards 1 6
- History of the English Church.*
In Short Biographical Sketches. By the Rev. JULIUS
LLOYD, M.A., Author of "Sketches of Church History
in Scotland." Post 8vo.Cloth boards 2 0
- History of the Jewish Nation, A,*
From the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By
E. H. PALMER, Esq., M.A. With Map of Palestine
and numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards 5 0

- Land of Israel, The.* s. d
 A Journal of Travel in Palestine, undertaken with special reference to its Physical Character. By the Rev. Canon TRISTRAM. Third edition, revised. With two Maps and numerous Illustrations. Large post 8vo. Cloth boards 10 6
- Litany, The.*
 With an Introduction, Explanation of Words and Phrases, together with Illustrative and Devotional Paraphrase. By the Rev. E. J. BOYCE, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. Cloth boards 1 0
- Narrative of a Modern Pilgrimage through Palestine on Horseback, and with Tents.*
 By the Rev. ALFRED C. SMITH, M.A. Numerous Illustrations, and four Coloured Plates. Crown 8vo. Cl. bds. 5 0
- Paley's Evidences.*
 A New Edition, with Notes, Appendix, and Preface. By the Rev. E. A. LITTON. Post 8vo. Cloth boards 4 0
- Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.*
 A New Edition, with Notes, Appendix, and Preface. By the Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester. Post 8vo. Cloth boards 3 0
- Peace with God.*
 A Manual for the Sick. By the Rev. E. BURBIDGE, M.A. Post 8vo. Cloth boards 1 6
- Plain Reasons against Joining the Church of Rome.*
 By the Rev. R. F. LITLEDALE, LL.D., &c. Revised and enlarged edition. Post 8vo. Cloth boards 1 0
- Plain Words for Christ.*
 Being a Series of Readings for Working Men. By R. G. DUTTON, B.A. Post 8vo. Cloth boards 2 0
- Prophecies and Types of Messiah.*
 Four Lectures to Pupil-Teachers. By the Rev. G. P. OTTEY, M.A. Post 8vo. Cloth boards 1 0
- St. Chrysostom's Picture of his Age.*
 Post 8vo. Cloth boards 2 0
- St. Chrysostom's Picture of the Religion of his Age.*
 Post 8vo. Cloth boards 1 6

<i>Scenes in the East.</i>	s.	d.
Consisting of Twelve Coloured Photographic Views of Places mentioned in the Bible, beautifully executed, with Descriptive Letterpress. By the Rev. Canon TRISTRAM. Cloth, bevelled boards, gilt edges	7	6
<i>Seek and Find.</i>		
A Double Series of Short Studies of the Benedicite. By CHRISTINA G. ROSSETTI. Post 8vo. Cloth boards	2	6
<i>Servants of Scripture, The.</i>		
By the Rev. JOHN W. BURGON, B.D. Post 8vo. Cloth boards	1	6
<i>Sinai and Jerusalem; or, Scenes from Bible Lands.</i>		
Consisting of Coloured Photographic Views of Places mentioned in the Bible, including a Panoramic View of Jerusalem, with Descriptive Letterpress. By the Rev. F. W. HOLLAND, M.A. Demy 4to. Cloth, bevelled boards, gilt edges	7	6
<i>Some Chief Truths of Religion.</i>		
By the Rev. EDWARD L. CUTTS, B.A., Author of "St. Cedd's Cross," &c. Crown 8vo.....Cloth boards	3	0
<i>Thoughts for Working Days.</i>		
Original and Selected. By EMILY C. ORR. Post 8vo. Limp cloth	1	0
<i>Turning Points of English Church History.</i>		
By the Rev. EDWARD L. CUTTS, B.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Havestock Hill. Crown 8vo....Cloth boards	3	6
<i>Turning-Points of General Church History.</i>		
By the Rev. E. L. CUTTS, B.A., Author of "Pastoral Counsels," &c. Crown 8vo. Cloth boards	5	0
<i>Under His Banner.</i>		
Papers on Missionary Work of Modern Times. By the Rev. W. H. TUCKER. With Map. Crown 8vo. New EditionCloth boards	5	0
<i>Ventures of Faith; or, Deeds of Christian Heroes.</i>		
By the Rev. J. J. HALCOMBE. With six Illustrations on toned paper. Crown 8vo.Cloth boards	2	6

DEPOSITORIES:

NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, CHARING CROSS, W.C.;
 43, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, E.C.; 48, PICCADILLY, W.;
 AND 135, NORTH STREET, BRIGHTON.

Date Due

[illegible]

BW5232 .Y607

York.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00017 8196

